

BY THE SAME EDITOR

1. ABHINAYADARPAṆA of Nandikeśvara, a manual of gestures used in ancient Indian dance and drama (*Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. V*).
2. CATURAṅGADĪPIKĀ of Śūlapāṇi, a manual of four-handed dice-chess (*Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XXI*).
3. KARPŪRAMAṆJARĪ (Rājaśekhara's Prakrit play), critically edited with an Introduction and Notes (*to be shortly out*).

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MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Thick types (Devanāgarī) in pp. 3-6, 35-44 and *asterisks* in pp. 7-34 and *Arabic numerals* on the left of all these pages will indicate the position of the reconstructed text in different recensions.

An *asterisk* will indicate a spurious passage. When put before the first hemistich the asterisk relates to the entire couplet and it sometimes relates to an entire couplet together with a third hemistich. An Arabic numeral appearing on the left margin between a pair of double *daṇḍas* (e.g., ॥3॥) signifies the position of the passage in the reconstructed text. A number prefixed to hemistich relates to it and the hemistich which precedes it; numbers with 'a' and 'b' after them indicate respectively the first and the second hemistich *only* of a couplet in the reconstructed text.

Bigger types in the Translation have been for the transcription and translation of passages of the PŚ, which have been considered original, and in Notes on them also such types have been used

A C —After Christ

AP —The Agni Purana recension of the Paniniya Śikṣa

B C —Before Christ

DPS —Dayananda's Phonetic Sutras

Geschichte—Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band III
(or Vol III)

HOS —Harvard Oriental Series

IAnt —Indian Antiquary

IHQ —Indian Historical Quarterly

JAOS —Journal of American Oriental Society

JBRAS —Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JDL —Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University

JRAS —Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

Mand Ś —Mandukī Śikṣa

Misra —Paniniya Śikṣa, ed by Pandit Kaliprasad Misra, Benares, Sam 1990

Nar Ś —Naradiya Śikṣa

Puj —The (Śikṣa) Panjika recension of the Paniniya Śikṣa

Prk —The (Śikṣa) Prakāśa recension of the Paniniya Śikṣa

PS —Paniniya Śikṣa as reconstructed by the Editor (pp 13)

RPr —The Rgveda Pratisakhya

RT —The Rk tantra Vyakarana

Sarma —Paniniya Śikṣa, ed Rudraprasad Sarma, Benares, 1937

SBE (S B E)—Sacred Books of the East

SS —Śikṣa samgraha

Taitt Pr —Taittiriya Pratisakhya

Taitt Up —Taittiriya Upaniṣad

TPr —Taittiriya Pratisakhya

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Vāj. Pr.—Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya.

VPr. — „ „

Yaj.—The Yajus recension of the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā.

Yv. Ś.—The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā.

ZDMG.—Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

उ.सू.—Uṇādi-Sūtras.

ऋक्—R̥gveda.

ऋ. प्रा.—R̥gveda-Prātiśākhya.

गीता—Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā.

छान्दो.—Chāndogya Upaniṣad.

ना. शि.—Nārādīya Śikṣā.

पा.—Pāṇinīya Aṣṭādhyāyī.

बृ. आ.—Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad

मनु—Manusmṛti.

N.B.—References to the RPr. (ऋ. प्रा.) are always to the edition of Paṣupati Sāstri.

INTRODUCTION

1

1. *The Present Edition.* Among the large number of works known as the Śikṣā¹ the Indian tradition² accords the position of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā to the one connected with the name of Pāṇini (see §28). Weber in his edition of the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā (Indische Studien, IV) has however remained silent on this point. In his History of Sanskrit Literature too he did not give any decisive opinion in the matter, but later on Max Müller positively denied the validity of the traditional notion about the PŚ. being a Vedāṅga.³ Since the days of Max Müller his view has been accepted by almost all the scholars without the slightest protest. Prof. Liebich may be said to have been a notable exception in this matter⁴; for he maintains that the PŚ. though late in its present form, is old in its contents. This view however has received very scanty attention from scholars who are otherwise very careful. Even two very recent writers who touched the subject, Mr. C. V. Vaidya and Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, have followed the view of Max Müller. Of these two the opinion of Mr. Vaidya deserves special mention because he is frankly against what he considers to be a late date (c. 1-00 B. C.) for the Rgveda suggested by Max Müller, and is for

¹ Śrī Yāśovalkyaḥ Mahārṣiḥ prapitṛḥ 'Śikṣā saṁgrahḥ' Benares, 1893, Siddheshwar Varma. Critic I Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, London, 1929, pp. 27 ff.

² 'Pārāśari Śikṣā' 78, in the 63, 'Prasthānta-bheda' in Weber's Indische Studien, I, p. 16; Siddheshwar Varma, op cit, p. 5. Durga in the Nirukta vṛtti ed. Bombay Skt Series, p. 24.

³ 'History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature', p. 145.

⁴ B. Liebich, 'Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft,' II, Heidelberg, 1919, p. 20; M. Winternitz 'History of Indian Literature,' Vol. I, p. 285, footnote 2, also Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Vol. III p. 382, footnote 1.

placing this work as early as 4000 B. C.¹ But Mr. Vaidya does not make any effort to explain why the PŚ. should not be considered a genuine Vedāṅga belonging to the great antiquity he assigns to Pāṇini² and Yāska.³ Dr. Siddheshwar Varma however gives some arguments to prove the lateness of the PŚ. But these, as we shall see later on (§§25 ff.) do not seem to be based on all available materials which might have given him a different view about the age and character of the work.⁴ For he has known the PŚ. in *three* recensions only, while the work itself exists in no less than what may be called *five* recensions which read together critically are to give one a better idea about the age and character of the text. There is yet another scholar who not only considers the PŚ. to be a late work and hence not a Vedāṅga, but accords the same position to a Sūtra work ascribed, on very questionable grounds to Pāṇini.⁵ We shall see later on (§§ 31-32) why this view is untenable, and this will bring us face to face with the text-history of the PŚ. for which a critical edition of the work is essentially necessary. Hence no apology need be offered for undertaking such an edition of the work together with that of the two commentaries attached to its two (late) recensions. Reasons which have led us to believe that the PŚ. is the original Vedāṅga Sikṣā will be discussed later on (§§28-30) and as such it is to be placed as early as Pāṇini who in all likelihood was its author (see § 33). This being the oldest treatise on the phonetics of Old Indo-Aryan—and possibly of Indo-European—deserves to be studied carefully for the history of the Vedic as well as Sanskrit sounds.

¹ History of Sanskrit Literature, Poona, 1930, Vol. I, Section I, pp. 25-40.

² *Op. cit.*, Sec. III, p. 8.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 5 f.

⁴ The main arguments which Dr. Siddheshwar Varma adduces to show that the PŚ. is not the Vedāṅga Sikṣā are as follows : (1) The PŚ. has no claim to be a *mūlāgama* or source of the *Prātisākhya*s, (2) Piṅgala, and not Pāṇini, is the author of the PŚ. The first argument has been refuted in §§ 28-30, and the second in § 33.

⁵ Dr. Raghu Vira, 'Discovery of the Lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini' in the *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 653 ff.

age of the Agni Purāṇa (c. 800 A.C.) later than Pāṇini by much more than 1000 years we may be justified to make an assumption about its defective tradition.

The representative text of the AP. recension of the PŚ. has been obtained from the following materials :

M. The Agni Purāṇa edited by Rajendra Lal Mitra and published in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' Series.

P. The Agni Purāṇa published from the Ānandāśrama, Poona. MSS. *ka, kha, ga, gha* and *ṇa* used for this text have been indicated by *a, b, c, d* and *e* respectively.

V. The Agni Purāṇa with Bengali translation published by the Vaidyavāsī Press, Calcutta.

(b) *The Pañjikā Recension.* As the commentary called the Śikṣā-Pañjikā does not contain the particular text, it follows, in a complete form, the Pñj. recension of the PŚ. had to be reconstructed to some extent conjecturally from the *pratīkas* of passages handled in the commentary. The compiler of the catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the India Office Library, London, has wrongly considered this to be identical with the Yaj. recension. But on comparing the latter (Yaj. rec.) with this we find that in some important points the two differ. For example, unlike the Yaj. the Pñj. contains the hemistich *anusvāra-yamānāṃ ca nāsikā sthānam ucyate* (PŚ. 11a) and *upadhmanīya ūṣmā ca jihvā-mūlīya-nāsike* (PŚ. 14b) and in this respect it falls in a line with the Prk. recension. Two passages (PŚ. 9, 10) though not explained in the Pañjikā seems to have existed in the text used by its author¹ (see Notes 26a and 28) and for this reason they have been included in the reconstructed text. Except these two, the Pñj. consists of 21½ couplets of which 4-19, correspond to PŚ. 1-18, respectively. On comparing

¹ The name of the author does not occur in any MS. But Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Shivadatta in his introduction to the Siddhānta-kaumudī (ed. Venkatesvara, Bombay, says *asya śikṣāyāḥ Rāghavācārya-kṛtaṃ bhāṣyam jagartīti dik.* Now in some MSS. the Pañjikā has been called Bhāṣya (p. 17). It may be that Rāghavācārya is the author of the Pañjikā.

the Pñj with the Prk recension it appears that the latter is an inflated version of the former. There are no sufficient data to suggest any precise date for the Pñj recension. But it appears by no means recent. For the Pñjñal quotes from one of the old authorities named Audavṛjñ of whose exact time we have no information, but as he is mentioned by the Nār S' work, except for its interpolated passages, is as old as 200 B C, he was probably older than this time. He has also been mentioned in the Rk tantra Vyākaraṇa (Samaveda Pratisakhya)* and in the Śikṣā prakāśa, another commentary to the PŚ. There being no mention of Audavṛjñ in phonetical works which are palpably very late we may assume that at their time his work was lost and the author of the Pñjñal flourished possibly earlier than a time when A's work was still available, and such was the case with the authors of the available Rk tantra Vyākaraṇa and the Śikṣā prakāśa. Now the time for the Śikṣā prakāśa being placed tentatively between 1000 A C and 1300 A C we may consider the lower limit to the date of the Pñj recension as the 1200 A C. Along with this should be considered the fact that the Agni Purāṇa recension can be placed at the earliest in 800 A C. Thus it appears that the Pñj recension existed between 800 and 1200 A C. The representative text of this recension of the PŚ has been worked out from the following MSS and printed text

A¹ Manuscript of the *Sikṣa-Pāñjika* in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No 2834

A* MS of the Pūṇikā in the same Society No 1169

A² MS of the Pañjikā in the same Society, No 4186 C

B The rotograph of a MS of the same procured by the Calcutta University from the State Library of Berlin

1 23 65. II 6 7

* *Id.* Sarvakanta Sastri, *Quota* (2)

² Fed SS, p. 68. See also the text cited below.

⁴ See below on the Iraq reception.

C. The text of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā together with the PŚ. in its Rk recension printed in Benares, 1929 (Haridas Skt. Series No. 10) [Mr. Suryakanta Sastri mentions one such text printed in Benares in 1387 (*op. cit.*, introd., p. 33n.)]. But we have not seen it. From Mr. Sastri's quotation it seems to agree with HL.].

H. A manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from the Royal Library of Munich. This was used by M. Haug.

I. A manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from the India Office Library.

L. The rotograph of the Śikṣā Pañjikā presented to the Calcutta University by the University of Lund.

(c) *The Prakāśa Recension.* As was the case with the Pañjikā recension this also had to be reconstructed from the *pratīkas* of the passages explained in the commentary called the Śikṣā-prakāśa. Having had to depend on rather imperfect materials we can never be sure that these restored texts were actually before their respective commentators. The most we can claim for these texts, is that they surely contained these particular passages in approximately the same form. But in case of the Prk. recension this claim can be admitted only subject to the limitation that the actual order in which some of the couplets occurred is not known. The Prk. passages, of the position of which in the text we are not sure, have been marked with an asterisk in the Table C, showing their relative position. This recension but for the inclusion of one hemistich (Prk. 22a) and the exclusion of one couplet (Yaj. 34) and the different order in which the different passages of the Yaj. recension have been arranged, is similar to the latter. But the confused manner in which the passages are available in the Yaj. recension gives us grounds to assume that the same were reduced to writing from memory at a time later than the composition of the Śikṣā-prakāśa and hence we have taken it as a separate recension.

The date of the Prakāśa recension may be considered to be later than that of the Pñj. for the simple reason that the

Ch. The PŚ. published along with the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from Chowkhamba, Benares, 1929.

This recension is scarcely much older than the 18th century ; for MSS. of this used by Weber are all later than Samvat 1833 and we have come across no earlier MS. This is the most inflated version of the PŚ. and contains nearly 60 stanzas. Only 17½ among these may be taken as genuine. These are Rk 4-11, 13, 16-19, 22-23, 38-40a corresponding to PŚ. 1-8, 9, 11-13, 14a, 15, 16a, 16b-18, respectively. The nature and source of the remaining 42 couplets have been discussed below (§ 3).

3. *Reconstruction.* From a very close study of its five recensions eighteen only of the couplets appear to constitute the original PŚ. Only fourteen among them, however, occur in all the recensions,¹ while the remaining couplets do not so occur. But on internal evidence they appear to be organically connected with the fourteen couplets common to all recensions and hence surely occurring in the original PŚ. Problems connected with them have been discussed in detail in Notes given along with the translation of the PŚ. Sources of more than half of the remaining forty-two couplets which we consider to be later additions to the text of the PŚ. have been traced to different late Śikṣā² works. Of the remaining twenty couplets the source of which we could not explore, at least eight (Rk 1-3, and 56-60, and passages corresponding to them in other recensions), can probably be credited to the editors of different recensions.. The remaining twelve were, in all likelihood, taken also from some late Śikṣās lost to us. Grounds on which we have considered a passage or group of passages spurious or later additions have also been discussed in Notes. From

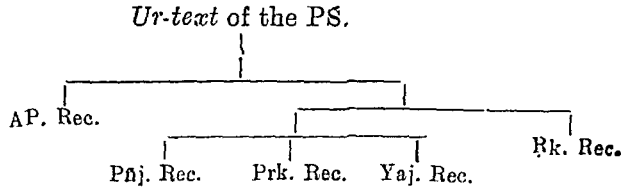
¹ See the conspectus of Text-Units of the different recensions given at the end of this Introduction.

² Cases of later Śikṣās can to some extent be compared with those of the later Upaniṣads (cf. Winternitz, History of Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 239). In order to give authenticity to their own theory or practice later writers on Vedic phonetics have called their works Śikṣās. These late works are nevertheless important for the study of Indo-Aryan phonetics.

a study of the interpolated passages it appears that the custodians of the *Veāṅga Śikṣā* have at different times made desperate efforts to preserve this small treatise consisting of only eighteen couplets, from extinction. Lest it should fall out of use before later works on the subject, which for the time being gave better guidance to the reader of the Vedic texts, they culled some new materials from those and tacked them on to the PS in different relays. Even this method though resorted to sometimes were not exclusively followed. To supplement this they put it along with other works on similarly important subjects in the body of a big compilation like the *Agni Purāṇa*. A case which seems to be analogous to this is the alleged interpolation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in the corpus of the *Mahābhārata*. For a tabular statement of the growth¹ of PS showing the distribution of genuine and interpolated passages in its different recensions,² see Table A.

Table A

From a study of the above table as well as the contents of the different recension we can suggest the mutual relation of the different recensions as follows :



language a similar pre-Aryan influence has already been postulated to account for the development of cerebral sounds as well as a portion of the Old Indo-Aryan vocabulary.¹ If such an influence played any considerable part in giving shape to the Vedic religion it may be said to have practically finished a great part of its work about 1000 B. C.² as far as the Indian Midland was concerned ; for a very long time must have been necessary for the pre-Aryan Indians to get reconciled with the hostile new-comers and ultimately to accept their faith and culture. Now the ethnic constitution of the modern Indians who profess adherence to the Vedas shows that a great majority of them has come from non-Aryan stocks. Thus one will probably be justified to assume here a conversion—may be unconscious—of the non-Aryan people to Vedic religion, which was responsible for such a state of things ; and such a conversion in all likelihood began to progress with considerable force about 1000 B. C. when the Vedic people and their ways were in all probability not only no longer displeasing but also was becoming attractive to the pre-Aryan people of the land, and a progressive section of them had already been Aryanised as far as their religion was concerned. And even some blood-mixture with the new-comers is much likely to have occurred at this stage. It is quite possible that the six Vedāṅgas partly grew up and partly took shape under the circumstances demanded by an effort on the part of these progressive non-Aryans and their descendants to acquire thoroughly the Vedic culture, a great deal of which was essentially connected with religious practices.

6. It is conceivable that these neo-Vedic people consisting of Aryanised non-Aryans as well as mixed Aryans took more than ordinary interest in Aryan faith and culture, and

¹ S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f., 170f.

² Oldenberg places the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (of course old ones) between 900 B. C.-700 B. C. (Buddha, : his Life, his Doctrines, etc., Calcutta, 1927, pp. 14-15). The Brāhmaṇas are characteristically the product of that period in which primitive Indo-Aryans were very much influenced by pre-Aryans of India.

vocabulary (*nighaṇṭu*).¹ The contents of the *Kalpa-sūtra* which branched off later on to Śrauta,² Gr̥hya and Dharma-sūtras may also be said to have received attention at that time when the neo-Vaidikas were trying to assume the appearance of thoroughly-bred Aryans and for this purpose they required a set of codified rules by following which they could be trained in Vedic ways. Oldenberg who does not pay any attention to the ethnic composition of the Vedic people seems to consider that a training in the Vedic ways was a priestly imposition on the other Aryan classes. (See 'Buddha, His Life, His Doctrines, His Order,' Calcutta, 1927, pp. 14-15.) As, for various ceremonies the observation of correct date and days of the moon was already a necessity even before the conscious Aryanizing activities began, the study of astronomy (*jyotiṣa*) commenced earlier³; but it is probable that its results were not gathered in a written treatise till later when some of the earliest available texts of other Vedāṅgas have been composed.

9. One of the earliest references to the six aṅgas of the Veda occurs in the Śaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda⁴ which on linguistic grounds has been considered to be pre-Pāṇinian.⁵ And in the Muṇḍakōpaniṣad (*circa* 700 B. C.) too the six Vedāṅgas have been enumerated.⁶ In a passage of the Gautama Dharma sūtra (*circa* 500-400 B.C.) we learn that as his authorities on the administration of justice the king was to take among other things the Vedāṅga (VIII. 5 ; XI. 19 ; SBE., Vol. 33, p. 234; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 519). In the Āpastamba

¹ Prof. Lakshman Sarup has a different opinion on this point (Translation and Notes of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, pp. 221-223). He is also unwilling to recognize Pāṇini's grammar or Nighaṇṭu or similar other works as Vedāṅgas (*loc. cit.*).

² Śrauta Sūtras in fact represented the Kalpa sūtras most. For according to the Sikṣā Prakāśa commentary to the PŚ. kalpa is the science of rituals.

³ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 ff.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 112-113.

⁵ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 191.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 268. For the time of Muṇḍaka, see Hertel's edn., pp. 64ff.

Dharmasūtra (c. 500 B.C.)¹ too Vedāṅgas have been mentioned twice (I. 10, 29, 21 ; II. 1, 8, 10). This sūtra work also enumerates the six āṅgas, one of which is of course the Śikṣā (II. 4, 8, 10)². In spite of these very early references to Vedāṅgas with or without their number, earlier scholars were not prepared to admit that such references implied 'the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with the sacred things' and in their opinion these references implied merely the admission of six subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the recitation, the understanding, or the proper sacrificial employment of the Vedic hymns (Max Müller, *op cit.*, p. 103, Winternitz, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 268). But as we have seen before that conditions favourable for the rise of the Vedāṅgas were probably in existence as early as 1000 B.C. and as the beginning of these studies at the time of the early Brāhmaṇas are attested by reliable references the existence of written treatises on Vedic āṅgas about 600 B.C. can by no means be considered to be impossible. The most one can assume about such works in the absence of suitable evidence, is that they have probably been lost. But to consider them to be non-existent after a lapse of nearly four centuries during which Vedic priests could compose voluminous Brāhmaṇas will indeed be a unique piece of inconsistency. Max Müller's schematic division of the Vedic period into Chandas, Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods perhaps lie at the back of this kind of unreasonable view. It is not possible that such closely divided ages ever existed; some overlapping has surely occurred, some at least of the Vedāṅga treatises were written in the Brāhmaṇa period—may be towards its end. For it is scarcely possible that when an energetic and intelligent people like the Indo Aryans were already composing works like the

¹ EBE Vol. 33 xlii, also Batakrishnaśākhā Apastamba and Gautama in IIIQ 1.77 pp. 607ff

² J. Charpentier places without any justification the origin of the Vedāṅgas between 300-100 B.C. (see his ed. of the Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra, pp. 31-32).

Brāhmaṇas, small treatises on the Vedāṅgas which, as we already noticed (§ 5), must have been a vital necessity with them about 1000 B.C. and after, were not then being prepared. Thus we are justified to assume that treatises on different Vedāṅgas might have been in existence between 1000-600 B.C.¹

¹ Cf. Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 4.

SİKŞİ

10. We have seen above under what possible conditions the Vedic priests might have turned their attention to the pronunciation of their sacred language and how this attention ultimately gave rise to the Siksā-vedāṅga. But, as can very naturally be expected, the word Siksā did not continue to mean the same thing during the different stages of its evolution.

11. According to Pāṇini (VII. 1. 53) the word Siksā has been derived from the desiderative of śik, 'to be able' ¹ 'Thus the literal meaning of śikṣā will be 'a desire to be able.' It is very difficult to understand how this rather curious meaning finally developed into 'phonetics.' It is indeed due to this difficulty that Weber and Max Müller have cut the Gordian knot by a bold assumption that √ śikṣ means originally 'a desire to know' (*zu können suchen*) though it must be admitted that 'knowing' cannot very well be equated to 'pronunciation' ² But, from the discussion made above of the conditions under which Siksā as a subject of study arose, the original meaning of this word seems to be plain enough. For were not the newly Aryanized people with their different ancestral speech-habit ill able to recite the Vedic mantras in a faultless manner? Now it may well be assumed that the difficulty in their case who had a totally different linguistic basis was so great that learners among them *had to have indeed a very strong 'desire to be able' to recite the Vedic hymns.* Possibly on such a hypothesis alone can we understand how the original meaning of 'to desire to be able' came to be narrowed down 'to desire to be able to recite the Vedas correctly' and from this finally

¹ See Lüders, *Vyākaraṇikā*, p. 1.

² Weber, *Inl. Stud.*, IV, p. 315.

developed the sense of the study of pronunciation. Thus the original import of the term Śikṣā seems to have embedded in it an important history.

12. Now the Vedic pronunciation as we see from the Śikṣās and Prātiśākhyaś was more or less a complex affair. But it is not so much possible that all phases of this complexity were felt all at once at the very beginning when attention began to be given to pronunciation¹; even in case of its being felt these different aspects of it could not be handled with success at the very beginning. Whatever might be the case it is pretty sure that with the early Vedic phoneticians (Śikṣākāras) matters were simple enough and only the fundamentals occupied their attention. Our evidence in this matter comes from Patañjali who in his definition of a typical priest (*ārtviṣṇa*) says that he should be able to use the (Vedic) speech with (properly inflected) words (*pada*), with (proper) accent (*svara*) and with the (properly articulated) speech-sounds (*varṇas*).² From this we learn that the observation of the proper accent as well as the right pronunciation of speech-sounds were Śikṣākāras' chief object of study. And a later authority Viṣṇumitra, a commentator of the RPr., defines the Śikṣā as *svara-varṇōpadeśaka-śāstram*, "the science which teaches accent and the speech-sounds (*varṇa*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī too says the same thing more elaborately.⁴ Hence we see that the correct production of speech-sounds in general and the pitch and quantity of vowels comprised

¹ In order to appreciate these we are to take notice of different stages in the phonetic evolution of the Middle Indo-Aryan. See S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*

² *yo vā imāṃ padaśaḥ svaratṣo' kṣaraśo vācam vidadhāti sa ārtviṣṇaḥ* (Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 3). *Pada* in this passage does not mean 'Versstollen' though in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa this is the meaning (see B. Liebhich, *Zur Einührung*, II, §§ 3-4) and *akṣara* does not mean here syllable in connection with metrics but with phonetics, for Patañjali says later on that Vedic words are taught to those who know places of articulation, adjustment of organs and the vocal words. This probably shows phonetics was studied earlier than metrics.

³ v. l. *svara-varṇōccāranōpadeśaka* RPr., ed. Benares, p. 10; S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁴ *tatra śikṣāyā uṣṭhānāḍātāsvarita-hrasvadhīrghaplutaviṣṭa-svaraḥyāñjanālmakavarṇo-ccāraṇa viṣiṣṭa-jñānaṃ prayojanam*. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I, p. 16.

the sole scope of the Śikṣā at the earliest stage of its development. It is quite possible that there was no written treatise on these topics, the Ācārya teaching the young learner (*brahmacārī*)¹ by words of his mouth, and it was only a little later that the earliest manual on different topics of the Śikṣā came to be written down. Now of the two phases of pronunciation that were considered important in the beginning, the proper instruction of the speech-sounds was probably reduced to a system first of all. We do not know what this system was like, but in view of somewhat phonetic arrangement of *varnas* in the Varna-samāmnāya or the so-called Śiva-sūtras² we are tempted to assume that this—probably in some earlier form—constituted the first treatise on the instruction of speech-sounds. The word *samāmnāya* 'traditional recitation' probably gives support to this view. Kātyāyana also seems to give it support while he says *ṛtī sama vāyārtha upadeśaḥ*, the enunciation (of the speech-sounds in the Śiva-sūtras) is meant for arranging the *varnas* in a proper order for (the facility of) recitation.³

¹ The prescription of a long residence of the very young Brahmacarin (coming in some cases from extra Aryan groups) with the Ācārya, in the Gṛhyasūtras resulted and seems to be meant for a linguistic rebirth (*devyate*).

² Prof. B. Faddegon says that the Śiva sūtra as a phonetical classification deserves the highest praise ('The mnemotechnics of Pāpini's Grammar, Acta Orientalia, VII 1939, p. 54). Mr. K. C. Chatterji is against such a view (see Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXIV).

³ In this translation we have ventured to differ from Patañjali on the interpretation of the word *ṛtī* which he explains as *śāstra pravṛttiḥ* (ed. Kielhorn Vol. I, p. 13). Our translation of the word as 'recitation' has its support from the well-known couplet *abhyasārthe drutaṁ ṛtīm*, etc. (RPr., XIII 19 Yaḥ, 22, etc.). Compare also the word *ṛtī* 'recitation'. If Patañjali has misunderstood Kātyāyana there is no wonder about it according to his own testimony. Patañjali lived in a decadent age as regards the proper teaching of the Vedas. He says: 'In the hoary antiquity it was like this: Brahmins after their upanayana studied grammar. And when they have learnt the places of articulation of sounds, the adjustment of organs and vocal chord in producing them, they were given instruction in Vedic words. But to day it is not so. Reading the Veda (straight) one quickly becomes a reciter of the same. (Pura kalpa etad āsit, saṁskaraṭīkarakalaṁ Brahmana vyakaranam smādhyait, icchyaḥ tatra āthana karandnupradajñebhyo Vaidika śabda upadiṣyante tad adyate na tatha Vedam ahitya tearita vaktāro bhāsanti.)' The use of the word *kalpa* is very significant. It literally means 432 million years but is used here in the sense of 'hoary antiquity'. This

13. There may however be some objection to the above view on the following grounds : (i) in the Varṇa-samāmnāya long and pluta vowels have been omitted, (ii) unvoiced stops have not been arranged in the same order as the voiced ones, (iii) the absence of yama, anusvāra, visarga, jihvā-mūliya and upadhmāniya in it and (iv) the *h* of the sūtra *ha-ya-va-ra-ṭ* and the sūtra *ha-l* at the end duplicating *h*, is inexplicable.

14. Now in reply to the first objection it may be said that a person learning short vowels correctly will naturally find it easy to produce their long and protracted varieties, and it is for this reason that the author of the Varṇa-samāmnāya did not probably like to make it unnecessarily cumbersome for the beginner by inclusion of these sounds, for the quantity of the vowel constituted a separate subject of instruction (see PŚ. 7). That voiced and unvoiced consonants have not been arranged in the same order in the Varṇa-samāmnāya cannot go against its phonetic character ; on the contrary, by varying the places of articulation in the utterance of the sounds their mechanical and hence wrong pronunciation has possibly been guarded against. Or it might be for the sake of his Pratyāhāras Pāṇini had to arrange the sounds like this. As for the omission of yama and anusvāra, etc., it may be said that being development of sounds already existing in the Varṇa-samāmnāya they do not appear there. Regarding the repetition of the sound *h* it may be said that there were possibly two *h*'s recognized in the Old Indo-Aryan, one *voiced* and another *unvoiced*. The fact that the second *h* is taken along with ś, ṣ and s, may justify us in making the above assumption. Prof. Sköld has tried to explain this double *h* by assuming that the Varṇa-samāmnāya might have been altered since its first formation and the last sūtra has probably been a later creation (Papers on Pāṇini, p. 20).

passage shows that the chronological distance between Patañjali and the early writers on Vedic phonetics as well as Pāṇini might be very great or the progress of Buddhism that preceded Patañjali must have been very detrimental to the Vedic studies or both might be facts.

15 As for the authorship of the *Varṇa-samāmnāya* we have no means of deciding whether it was made by some pre Pāṇinian authority (Śiva, Maheśvara) or Pāṇini.¹ All we can reasonably assume is that Pāṇini might have adopted the already existing material (the Śiva-sūtras in their original form), with certain changes, as the matrix of his *pratyāhāras*, and the Śikṣa connected with his name was perhaps the work to which was prefixed this *Varṇa-samāmnāya* and furnished the basis of Pāṇini's grammar and phonetics. The relation of the PS. to this work which in its original form may go back to the first age of the Śikṣa-Vedāṅga (1000-600 B.C.) will be considered later (§ 20).

16. The scope of the Śikṣā as given in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* probably brings us to the second stage in the evolution of this Vedāṅga. According to this Upaniṣad (1.2) the Śikṣa consists of *stara* 'pitch accent,' *mātrā* 'quantity,' *balā* 'stress,' *sāma* 'utterance in a medium tone,' and *saṁtāna* (*saṁhita*, 'euphonic combination.'² While referring to the Śikṣā in his introduction to the *Rgveda-bhāṣya* Sāyaṇa thinks of the developed state of this Vedāṅga even when he says *varṇa-sarāḍyuccarana-prakāro yatra upadiśyate sū śikṣā*, for he brings in the

¹ Prof B. Pāddegan says: Most likely the Śiva sūtra is of earlier date than the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*op cit*, p. 56). Dr. Mangal D. D. Shastri too thinks that the Śiva sūtras are pre-Pāṇinian ('The Relation of Pāṇini's Technical Devices to his Predecessors' in the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference Allahabad*, Vol II, 1928, pp. 4691.) Mr K. A. Solrahmanīa Iyer however thinks that the Śiva Sūtras are Pāṇini's own (On the Fourteen Māheśvara Sūtras, *ibid*, p. 142). Dr P. Thieme thinks as follows: The idea of some modern scholars that this dogma (i.e., the divine revelation of the Śiva sūtra) contains as a 'historical nucleus' the fact that Pāṇini did not compose the 'Śiva Sūtras' himself is nothing short of absurd (*op cit*). But his view that Patañjali took it for granted that the Śiva Sūtras are P's work seems to be wrong. Patañjali merely says in this connection that *etad jñāpayaty ācāryaḥ* (Pāṇini). The verb *jñāpayati* (suggests) has the same root as *jñāpaka* (a suggested or implied precept) so often used in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

² The translation of the terms given above is based on Sādhara's *Bhāṣya* of the *Taitt Up*, cf. the translation of these terms by Prof. Winterpitz (*A History of Indian Literature*, Vol I, p. 282). Macdonell in pursuance of Sāyaṇa translates these as letters, accents, quality, pronunciation and euphonic rules (see *Hist. of Skt. Lit.* p. 253). Dr. Siddheswar Varma translates *varṇa* as 'individual sounds,' *stara* as 'accent,' *saṁtāna* as 'chanting of the Vedic verses' and in this connexion he ignores *balā* totally (see his *Critical Studies*, p. 4).

passage from the Taitt. Up. (1.2). According to him *svara-varṇādayaḥ* means *varṇa*, *svara*, *mātrā*, *bala*, *sāma* and *santāna*. But the fact that Sāyaṇa in his Veda-bhāṣya quotes from Prātiśākhya does not invalidate his testimony about the Vedāṅga Śikṣā which according to him is the PŚ. For he mentions no less than three couplets (PŚ. 8, 9, 10) of the latter work.¹ As Uvaṭa, one of Sāyaṇa's predecessors, in his introduction to the commentary of the Ṛk Prātiśākhya has considered this work to be a Śikṣā² we can easily believe that Sāyaṇa was fully conscious about the historical relation between the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhya and he surely followed a correct tradition in according due honour to each kind of works on the subject. For the Prātiśākhya, though one of them has called itself a Vedāṅga,³ were, as we shall see presently, the Śikṣā manuals belonging to the second stage in the development of this Vedāṅga, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī too was aware of this fact.⁴ The position of the Prātiśākhya in the history of ancient Indian phonetic literature seems to have been very much misunderstood.⁵ And in order to appreciate their proper position as well as that of the Vedāṅga Śikṣa composed by Pāṇini we must now inquire into the nature and scope of the Prātiśākhya and their time.

¹ Sāyaṇa evidently used one of the very late recensions of the PŚ. for he says *sa cāṅgabhūta-śikṣā-granthe spaṣṭam udīritaḥ 'triṣaṣṭis' catuṣṣaṣṭir vā varṇā sambhāvato matāḥ* etc. (Pnj. Prak. Yaj. and Rk. 3.)

² *tathāpy asyāṇ śikṣāyāṇ dantyaṃlīya iti repho dantyaṃlīya ity uktāḥ* (ed. Sāmaśrami, p. 14). Madhusūdana too calls Prātiśākhya Śikṣā; see the Note 5 below.

³ ṚPr. XIV. 30 ; Madhusūdana seems to be of opinion that the Prātiśākhya too are Vedāṅgas.

⁴ *tatra sarva-vedasādhārāṇaśikṣā Pāṇinīnā prakāśitā prativedaśākhya ca bhinnarūpā p rātiśākhyaśaṃjñitā anyaireva munibhiḥ prakāśitā.*

⁵ Cf. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 116f. ; Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 233 ; Kielhorn in I. Ant., 6, pp. 144, 193 *contra* which Burnell, *Ṛk-tantra Vyākaraṇa*, pp. xlix-l ; S. Sastri, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 40. Exceptions are Goldstücker 'Pāṇini', p. 184, and Paul Thieme, 'Pāṇini and the Veda,' Allahabad, 1935, pp. 81ff.

PRATISĀKHĪYAS

17 Before entering into any discussion about the origin, nature and scope, etc., of the Pratisākhīyas it would be proper to examine the term about the meaning of which there seems to exist some misunderstanding. The word consists of three parts *prati*, *śikhā* and the formative element. Of these, the exact meaning of *śikhā* should be determined first of all.

18 The *śikhā*, as is well known, relates to the different Vedic schools, but we do not know whether the *śikhā* refers to the one undivided Veda or to each of the different Vedas, such as, Rk, Sāman, Yajus (Black and White), etc. Let us first consider the case of an undivided Veda. From the story occurring in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas that Kṛṣṇa dvaipāyana Muni divided the Veda into four parts¹ we may infer that the Vedic mantras existed once as an undivided corpus. The fact that particular mantras are found in more Vedas than one, hints that the mantras were collected under different names chiefly with a view to their ritual use. For example, the collection of mantras made for the use of the Hotṛ was called Rk and that for the use of the Adhvaryu was called the Yajus while the Udgātṛ's collection was called the Sāman. Now the principle according to which the particular mantras could be put under different labels was the same as that which has been traditionally at the root of the division of the Vedas into śākhās. For, from Mahadeva's commentary on the Hiraṇyakeśi

¹ For details see Śaṅkabhāṣya Vyākhyānakāra श्रीशङ्कर (Jleant koga) Calcutta 1761
B E pp 10-0 f (art cle on "Vedavyāsa")

Sūtra we learn that one of the reasons which gave rise to śākhās was the manner of reading the Vedas.¹ This being the case we can well say that from one original Veda came out first of all śākhās like Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus, etc.² For, the uttering of Vedic mantras by different classes of priests was different; the Hotṛ recited the Ṛcas with his normal voice, the Adhvaryu muttered the Yajūṃṣi silently, while the Udgātṛ chanted Sāmans loudly.³

19. But the threefold śākhā, if we are allowed to postulate this, must have existed at the very beginning of the period which witnessed the growth of Vedic ritualism, or roughly in the period preceding the Brāhmaṇas. From this period onwards the Vedic people, that is, the Aryans together with the pre-Aryan ethnic element which they might have absorbed, began to scatter themselves in widely separated regions of the Indian continent where Aryanization followed. This diffusion of the Vedic people, their culture and religion gave rise, in course of time, to difference in pronunciation of the mantras, and mantras being orally transmitted some of them came, in course of time, to be read in different places with more or less different word order, and a difference in the order of stanzas constituting them also arose. It is probably these factors that brought forth different śākhās in the generally accepted sense and they were, in fact, śākhās of śākhās or secondary śākhās. Prātiśākhyaś relate to all such śākhās in existence at the time of their composition or final redaction. But separation among the different branches of the Vedic people resulted not only in the

¹ śākhābhede' dhyayanabhedād vā sūtra bheda vā. See Max Müller, *Ancient Skt. Literature*, London, 1859, p. 127.

² Max Müller also writes; "The word (*i.e.*, śākhā) is sometimes applied to the three original Saṃhitās, the Ṛgveda-saṃhitā, Sāma-veda-saṃhitā and Yajur-veda-saṃhitā, in relation to one another and without reference to subordinate śākhās belonging to each of them" (*op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124). Yāska's use of singular number with reference to the Veda deserves notice (I. 20). Prof. Sarup however takes this differently. See his transl., p. 221.

³ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 471 f.; *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtrās* (II. 1. 35-37).

difference of pronunciation of the mantras but also a variation of their sacrificial rules and social laws and customs. Thus the śākhās came to relate also to a difference in such matters,¹ though Prātisikhyas had nothing to do with such śākhās.²

20 Now the exact sense of śākhās having been determined we shall proceed to ascertain the sense of the term *Prātisāhikhyā*. According to Max Müller who wrote in 1859, 'Prātisāhikhyā' does not mean, as has been supposed, a treatise on phonetic peculiarities of each Veda, but a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas, i.e., to one of those different texts in which each of the Vedas had been handed down for ages in different families and different parts of India.³ This view has been subscribed to by Whitney in his edition of the Atharva veda Prātisikhyā (1862).⁴ Since then almost all the scholars have followed this view.⁵ But such an opinion seems to have been expressed on very inadequate grounds. For, Madhava, quoted by Jñānendra Sarasvati in his gloss on the Siddhī Kau (P. IV. 3. 59), explains Prātisikhyā as *prātisāhikham bhāram*.⁶ And Anantabhaṭṭa too in the introduction to his commentary to the Śukla Yajus Prātisāhikhyā defines the word similarly and shows, after an elaborate discussion, that Kātyāyana's work relates to all the fifteen śākhās which developed out of the Śukla Yajur veda.⁷ From the testimony of Durgā also we learn that the Prātisikhyā related to more schools than one. For in his commentary to the Nirukta (I. 17) he says *Ima pīrsadīm? svacarana parśidy eva yathā*

¹ See above footnote 2. *Fātra* in Mahādeva's comment means *Kalpavṛkṣa* as in the *Srauta Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras*.

² The word *śākhā* used hereafter in this essay will mean unless otherwise qualified a *phonetic śākhā* only.

³ *Op cit.* p. 112.

⁴ *JAOS* Vol. VII pp. 317-380 f.

⁵ See Suddheshwar Varma *Critical Studies* p. 113; Winternitz *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I Calcutta 1924 p. 231.

⁶ *Siddhānta kaumudī* ed. Gadgil Bombay 1904 p. 210.

⁷ *Kātyāyana's Vājasaneyī Brāhminśākhya* ed. Venkatarāma Sharma Madras University 1931 pp. 2-3.

*pratiśākhaṃ niyatam eva padāvagraha-pragrhya-krama-saṃhitā-svaralakṣaṇam ucyate tāni imāni pārśadāni pratiśākhyāni ity arthaḥ.*¹ 'Those Pārśada books by which in a Pariśad of one's own Carāṇa, the peculiarities of accent, saṃhitā, krama-reading, pragrhya vowels and separation of words are laid as enjoined for, and restricted to each śākhā are called Prātiśākhyas.' Max Müller who quoted the above passage may be said to have misunderstood it. *Pratiśākhaṃ* which he translated as 'to certain śākhās' should be equivalent to 'to each śākhā.' It should be noticed in this connexion that Max Müller's translation of the passage is not in agreement with his own definition of the term *Prātiśākhyā* quoted above. However the fault lies principally with commentators like the author of the *Vaidikā-bharaṇa* whom Max Müller in all likelihood followed. For in the last named work which does not say anything about the exclusive phonetic character of śākhās in a *Prātiśākhyā*, it has been suggested that the *Prātiśākhyas* relate to a group of śākhās.¹ This suggestion seems to give partial support to Mādhava's and Anantabhaṭṭa's testimony referred to above. For it does not restrict *Prātiśākhyas* to one only of the many śākhās.

The word *Pārśada* which is a synonym for *Prātiśākhyā* seems to give some clue to the solution of the problem whether *Prātiśākhyas* related to only one or all the śākhās of a Veda. In Nārāyaṇa's commentary to a passage (*ācāryaṃ sapariśatkaṃ bhojayet sabrahmacāriṇaś-ca* in the *Gobhila-Grhyasūtra-bhāṣya* we find the following *saha pariśadā śiṣyagaṇenā vartata iti sapariśatkaḥ taṃ. samānaṃ tulyakālaṃ brahmacāritvaṃ yeṣāṃ ta ime anyaśākhino'pi sabrahmacāriṇaḥ savayo'bhi adhīyante.*² From this passage we learn that students belonging to different Vedic schools could take their lessons from one Ācārya who together with his pupils constituted a Pārśada or Pariśad. Thus

¹ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 131; S. Varma translates Mādhava's words as belonging to each individual (*prati*) śākhā (*op. cit.*, p. 12).

² On the *T. Pr.*, IV. 11; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 13

Parasūta sūtra evidently related to such Parāśadya, comprising different schools of a Veda. Hence it seems justifiable to conclude that Parāśadya-sūtras or Pratisākhya is related to each one or all the Śikṣās of a Veda.

21. By taking what seems very much to be a wrong view about the meaning of the word Pratisākhya or the scope of a work so named, Whitney felt some uneasiness over naming the Pratisākhya of the Ṛgveda-Yajur-veda as the Taittirīya Pratisākhya.¹ The very fact that this Pratisākhya mentioned the Black Yajus schools like Muniṣṭaka and Āhvaraka as well as Taittirīya, made it very inconvenient for him to attach the Pratisākhya to the last named school (Taittirīya) only. But still he considered it prudent to adopt the name Taittirīya Pr. for the work, though it did not quite satisfy his great critical acumen. For he confessed that 'we are far from fully comprehending as yet the origin, nature and relation of the 'schools' of Vedic study and their accepted texts or Śikṣās.'² This, however, was not the attitude of Whitney a few years earlier when he edited the Atharva-veda Pr. and had recourse to conjectures of varying degrees to explain away the discordance between the theory current in his time about the nature and scope of Pratisākhya and the characteristics of the Pr. in hand. He attached this Pr. to the Śaṃṣaka school of the Atharva-veda and troubled himself about the problem why in certain points it was not in complete agreement to the Veda of this school. He little dreamt the Pr. in question related also to other Atharva Śikṣās which in all likelihood perished or were till then untraced.³ Hence in his edition of the Atharva-veda Pr. Whitney writes 'It is, ...peculiarity of the authors of our treatise to give their rules a wider scope than the vocabulary of the Atharva

¹ See p. 427 of Whitney ed. of this Pratisākhya was published in 1871.

² Whitney, T. Pr. p. 427.

³ The Paippalīya Śikṣā of the Atharva-veda discovered after Whitney ed. of the Atharva Pr. should be remembered in this connexion.

requires, in many instances contemplating and providing for combination of sounds which are found nowhere in the body of Vedic scriptures, and for which accordingly the commentator is obliged to fabricate illustrations (p. 583).¹ Now whatever may be said about the genuineness of examples given by the commentator who was possibly very late, it cannot be said that the author of the *Prātiśākhya*s based his rules on non-existing materials. In view of the tradition that Vedas, in different periods, came to be lost and had to be recovered, it will not be difficult to assume that some of the *śākhās* with their texts perished beyond recovery.¹ Even if his allegation against the commentator in some rare cases may not be untrue, Whitney himself has admitted that 'there are certain number of sentences among those given by the commentator which have more or less clearly the aspect of genuine citations from Vedic texts; and although some might be regarded as instances of carelessness on his part quoting by memory from another source than his own Veda, we cannot possibly extend this explanation to them all; it must remain probable that, in part at least, they were contained in some hitherto unknown *çākhā* of the *Atharva-veda*.'² From these passages one will easily realise the untenable nature of the meaning given to *Prātiśākhya* by Whitney, his predecessors and followers.³

22. Max Müller, in his introduction to the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* (1870) does not care to examine in details the deviations of the *Prātiśākhya* from the available *Ṛgveda* text (of Śākala recension). This may be said to be due particularly to his strong belief that *Prātiśākhya*s were concerned with one *śākhā* of a Veda. Hence, he very summarily disposes of the question of relationship between the *Prātiśākhya* and the *Ṛgveda* (Śākala) text by saying that, as "in all essential points our own best

¹ Hopkins, 'The Great Epic of India,' p. 5.

² JAOS., VII, p. 583.

³ E.g., Prof. Keith believes with Whitney that the *T.Pr.* relates to the *Taittirīya* *Mantra-pāṭha* alone. See *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, HOS, p. xxxviii.

manuscripts of the text agree with the data in the Prātisākhya, we may prudently conclude that the text of the R̥gveda we possess is the same as seen by the authors of the Prātisākhya more than 2000 years ago"¹ Along with this should be remembered what he himself wrote in this connexion eleven years earlier In the History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (1859) Max Müller wrote "There is not a single MS at present existing of the R̥gveda in which rules of our Prātisākhya are uniformly observed, and the same applies to the MSS of the other Vedas"²

22 (a) Burnell, too, in his introduction to the R̥k-tantra-vyākaraṇa (Mangalore, 1879), considered by him to be a Prātisākhya of the Sāma-veda, thought that Prātisākhyas belonged to one of the many śākhās of a Veda He attached the R̥k-tantra to the Kāṭhūmī śākhā alone and made some conjectures as to why this Prātisākhya could not be connected with Jaiminīya, Talvākīra or R̥ṇiyānīya śākhās, and he assumed that Prātisākhyas connected with these śākhās had been lost But all these assumptions seem to be uncalled for For example, characteristics of some Sāma śākhās such as the cerebral *l* and short *e* and *o* were in all probability phonetic developments occurring or recognized later³ There can be nothing against such an assumption For there is the traditional view that the difference of śākhās arising from difference in uttering mantras is without any (historical) beginning,⁴ and from this we may deduce that even after the Prātisākhyas were written new differences in pronuncia-

¹ IHQ, Vol. III, 1927, pp. 611-613 Introduction to R̥k Pr. translated into English by B. K. Ghosh

² Pp. 136, 137

³ Patsūjy's opinion regarding the shortening of *e* and *o* in the Satyamugrīya and Ranayaniya śākhās of the Sāma veda deserves special notice in this connexion For he is unwilling to recognize such a deviation from the tradition though the Patisad gave it sanction He says *pārṣa loṭ r̥ṣe eṣa tatrabhacat iṣe iṣaṣa loṭe nā iṣasmī teṣe rdha eḷaro rdā a oḷaro vāṣṭi* on the Śivasūtra (a: au-c)

⁴ *adī gayana bī edute cī ulī abī edo nīdi* quoted by Max Müller op cit p. 127 See also pp. 117-118 *pravacanabhedāt prativedam bī nā bī uṣasyaś ca śīlī* says Mādhusūdana Sarasvatī in the Prasthāna bheda

tion could arise between several groups of Vedic people and did actually arise and thus the process which brought into existence different śākhās was practically without an end.¹ It will be found on a closer study of the various Prātiśākhya and Śikṣā that the difference of pronunciation among Vedic śākhās owe their origin to the forces which tended to develop the Old Indo-Aryan to the Middle Indo-Aryan and the later to the New Indo-Aryan dialects.² But Whitney, Max Müller and Burnell however viewed the matter differently and so did Weber before them.³

23. The Prātiśākhya belonging as they do to the second age of the study of the Śikṣā Vedāṅga had a much wider scope than the manual of the subject that was produced in the first age.⁴ From a study of the contents of the Prātiśākhya we find that the scope of the Śikṣā as given in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (I. 2) applies to a considerable extent to the Prātiśākhya which

¹ Mr. Suryakanta Sastri in his Introduction to his new ed. of the Ṛk-tantra follows Burnell in assigning the work to the Kauthumī śākhā (pp. 2-6). But Mr. Sastri has also given some fresh arguments in support of Burnell's theory. These, however, are by no means unassailable. That the Jaiminiya text of the Sāma-veda did not give the peculiarities provided for in the Sūtras 58, 94, 112 and 114 can be explained also by the assumption that the phonetic changes in question might have arisen later or the Prātiśākhya being manuals of pronunciation had not much influence with the scribes, and discrepancy between the written text and its pronunciation can well be assumed to have existed in early times also. From the emphatic manner in which the use of written texts of the Vedas has been discouraged we can well infer this. For the Nāradiya-Śikṣā says :

*Pustakapratyayādhitān nādhitaṃ gurusannidhau
rājate na sabhāmadhye jāragarbho iva striyaḥ* (II. 8. 19),

and the Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā has the following :

*gītī śīghr ī śīraḥ-kampī tathā likhita-pāṭhakah
anarthajño'lpakaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ etc pāṭhakaḍḍhamāḥ.* (198).

The long quotation which Mr. Sastri has given in support of his connecting the Ṛk-tantra with the Kauthuma śākhā alone of the Sāma-veda, is not at all convincing. According to this question the Kauthumī śākhā seems to include Nārada, Lomaśa, Gautama and Naigeya schools. He ought to have explained this fact.

² Bloomfield and Edgerton, Vedic Variants, Vol. 2, *Phonetics*, Ch. I, especially §§ 20-43. See also Max Müller, *Ancient Skt. Lit.*, p. 117.

³ Weber, *Indische Studien*, IV, pp. 67 ff. See also Winternitz, *A Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 284. According to the Taitt. Up. Śikṣā treats of the following : *varṇa* (speech-sounds) *svara* (pitch-accent), *mātrā* (quantity), *balā* (stress), *sāma* (utterance in a medium tone), and *saṃhitā* (euphonic combination).

Contra this, see Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 285.

should be called secondary Śikṣā.¹ When judged by the standard set up by the Tañt. Up. for Śikṣā (phonetics), the Prātiśikhyas may be found wanting in certain respects.² For example, the treatment of *sāma* and *bala* is non-existent in them. But it can well be assumed that as these two topics were exclusively matters of oral instruction the Prātiśikhyas did not discuss them.

24. As for the date of the Prātiśikhyas which as we have seen can be called the secondary Śikṣā, their rise and development, at least of the older ones among them, can be roughly placed between 600-200 B.C.³ A detailed discussion about the date of the Prātiśikhyas will carry us far beyond the scope of the present work. But in support of the lower limit to the date of the early Prātiśikhyas it may be mentioned that the passages from the Taittirīya Pr. and Atharva Pr. occur in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (c. 200 B.C.). Patañjali's loan to the Pr. has already been pointed out by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma but the acquaintance of the Bhāṣyakāra with the A. Pr. has not been pointed out before. Under the Vārttika to Pāṇini I. 1. 10. Patañjali⁴ quotes *spṛṣṭam sparśanām karaṇam. tsatspṛṣṭam antahsthanām. cīcṛṣṭam ūṣmanām iṣad ity anurartate. śarāṇām ca* [MSS. A B *cīcṛṣṭam iṣad ity anurartam*]. Here we have sūtras 29-32 of the APr. with the difference that the word order of the sūtra *ūṣmanām cīcṛṣṭam ca* has been changed and *ca* has been omitted. The accompanying *vṛtti* in Patañjali's quotation shows that he has quoted from some sūtra work which was evidently the APr.⁵

¹ Cf. Sanyakanta Sastri, *op cit.*, Introduction, p. 8.

² For the scope of the Śikṣā as laid down in the Tañt. Up., see § 16.

³ S. Varma, *op cit.*, p. 412. See also Hannes Skjold, 'The Nirukta: Its place in Old Indian Literature, its Etymologies' Lund 1926, p. 121. Before Dr. Varma he surmised that the Pr. was to be placed before Patañjali though he very rightly held that the age of the Prātiśikhyas has rather been overrated. Cf. Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 258.

⁴ Ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 61.

⁵ Recent attempts to show that the Śaunakiyā Cātvarādhyaikā is not the A. Pr. must be pronounced as a failure (*cfr.* The Atharva Prātiśikhyas, ed. Viswa Bandhu Vidyarthi Shastri, Lahore, 1923, pp. 13-14. S. Sastri, *op cit.*, introduction, p. 6). For, Uvaṣa in his introduction to the Ṛk Pr. writes, "tathā cātharvane prātiśikhye idam eva prayojanam uktam. eam theti ca cīcṛṣṭam āpṛapṛapam sāmange." A. Pr. I. 2.

PAṆINIYA ŚIKṢĀ

25. *Its contents.* The PŚ. as we have reconstructed it from different recensions, contains only eighteen couplets in anuṣṭubh metre though the longest (Rk) recension includes no less than forty-two additional couplets¹ most of which are in the same metre. The extreme shortness of this Śikṣā-Vedāṅga can well be compared with that of the Chando-Vedāṅga which is embedded in the Chandaḥ-sūtras of Piṅgala and contains only 87 sūtras which will scarcely be much bigger in extent than the PŚ.² But in spite of its extreme brevity the PŚ. was more or less a complete manual on the pronunciation of the Vedic speech-sounds in general at the time the work was composed.

In the first two couplets the PŚ. enumerates the speech-sounds (*varṇas*); vowels and consonants have been separately mentioned. The next four couplets (3-6) give a theory of production of the speech-sounds. This is followed by a five-fold classification of these sounds according to their pitch, quantity, place of articulation, primary effort (*prayatna*) and the secondary effort (*anupradāna*) (7-16). It goes without saying that pitch and quantity primarily concerned vowels while the remaining items all the sounds. The sounds mentioned in the PŚ. are shown below in phonetic script according to their classes.

¹ Some of the additional passages, e.g. Rk 46, 47 are not in verse. We however, have called them couplets only as a matter of convenience.

² See Manomohan Ghosh, 'The Chando-Vedāṅga of Piṅgala' in *IHQ*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 727 ff. ; Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, VIII, pp. 229-237.

Table B

Pāṇini's Classification of Speech-Sounds of the O I A.

1. According to Places of Articulation.

		urāḥ	kaṣṭha	jihvāmūla	tālu	mūrdhan	danta	danta-oṣṭha	oṣṭha
spṛśa	alpaprāṇa ¹			k g	e j	ṭ ḍ	t d		p b
	makūprāṇa			kh ḡḥ	ch ḡḥ	ṭh ḥ ḡḥ	th dh		ph ḡḥ
	anunāsika			ṅ	ṇ	ṇ	n		m
antahatha	ūṣman	h	(h) fi	x	ç	ʃ	s		r
	(lateral)						l		
	(flapped)					r			
	(semivowel)				j			w	
svara	samāvākyāra (monophthong)		a a:		i u:				u u:
	śandhyakāra (diphthong)			kaṣṭha-tālu		kaṣṭha-oṣṭha			
				e: (-āi - eḍ?)		ai	o: (-āū - oḍ?)		au

2. According to Prayatana.

a-sprṣṭa	a a: , i i: , u u: , e: (-? eḍ) ai o: (-? oḍ) au
lṣat-sprṣṭa	j w r l (h x r)
nema-sprṣṭa	ç ʃ s
sprṣṭa	all stops and h

¹ Terms in *Italics* have not been used in the PŚ.

3. According to Anupradāna.

nādin	{	anunāsika	ṅ	ṇ	ṇ	n	m
	{	an-anunāsika	fi	gfi	ḥfi	ḍfi	bfi
Iṣan-nāda			g	ḥ	ḍ	d	b
śvāsīn			kh	ch	ṭh	th	ph
Iṣac-chvāsīn			k	c	ṭ	t	p

26. *Its Language.* Within the short extent of eighteen couplets we have one clear instance of Vedic usage (see Note 9, see also Note 18). There is another expression which also according to the Kāśikā follows the Vedic usage (see Note 9 on *so'dīrṇaḥ*). Thus we may be justified to conclude that the PŚ. was written in a late form of the Vedic speech. The text of the Rk recension of the PŚ. as printed in the Śikṣā-Saṃgraha (Benares, 1893) has been furnished with accent marks. But as eighteen only of the couplets have been considered to be original we have no sufficient ground to take these accent-marks to be very old. But on looking to the archaic language of the PŚ. we are tempted to assume that the editor of the text of the Rk recension, which served as the basis of the ŚS. text, must have had behind him a good traditional support. It is quite likely that these accent-marks in the PŚ. fell into disuse just as the accent-marks in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha did.¹ Pāṇini's sūtras such as *svaritenādhikārah*, *anudātta-ṇita ātmane-padam* (I. 3. 11, 12) clearly indicate that these two works were once accented. This possible existence of accent-marks in the PŚ. again speaks for its great antiquity.

27. That the PŚ. has been composed in the anuṣṭubh metre has been considered by Max Müller to be the sign of its lateness. On this point, after emphasising the antiquity of the Rk Prātisākhya he says, 'By comparing Śaunaka's chapters

¹ See Wackernagel, I, p. 283.

But he discusses later on (under I. 3. 25) a theory of the production of words, which is identical with that available in the PŚ. (3-6).¹ Bhartṛhari (c. 650 A.C.) too in his Vākyapadīya (I.47)² seems to follow the same theory, though he does not mention any Śikṣā or Śikṣākāra. But from Śabara's or Bhartṛhari's probable acquaintance with the PŚ. we do not learn anything about the authorship of this work. It may be that like the compiler of the Agni Purāṇa they were not aware of the name of its author though it was surely looked upon by them as the most authentic Śikṣā or the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. The same may be said of Durga (c.1300 A.C.)³ the commentator of the Nirukta, and Sāyaṇa (1400 A.C.), as well as Someśvara⁴ and Rāmakṛṣṇa⁵ about the date of whom we have no definite idea. But Madhusūdana Sarasvatī⁶ (c. 1500 A.C.) as well as the author of the Pārāśarī Śikṣā⁷ knew the PŚ. as the Vedāṅga and knew Pāṇini as its author. From the description of the Śikṣā given in the Śukranīti⁸ it appears that the author of this work too knew of the PŚ. to be a Vedāṅga. Thus we see that though there might have occurred some break in the tradition about Pāṇini's authorship of the PŚ. it was taken as the most important Śikṣā or the Vedāṅga by eminent authorities probably from 500 A.C. to 1500 A.C. The question why the authorship of the PŚ. came later to be obscured is difficult to answer.

¹ *mahatā prayatnena śabdān uccaranti vāyur nābher utthitāḥ urasi vistīrṇaḥ kaṇṭhe cīvartitāḥ mūrdhānam āhatya vaktre vicaran vīvidhān śabdān abhivyañjayati. PŚ. 3-4.*

² *vitarkitāḥ purā buddhyā kvacidarthe niveśitāḥ
karaṇebhyo vīṛṭtena dhvaninā so'nugṛhyate.
v.l. kāraṇebhyo vīṛṭtena is evidently due to confusion.*

³ Durga in his introduction to the Comm. of the Nirukta quotes PŚ. 3. from what he calls the Vedāṅga Śikṣā (see Nirukta in Bomb. Skt. Series, p. 24). The date of the author is about 1300 A.C. (Introduction to the Nirukta, by Sarup, p 50).

⁴ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁵ Ed. Simon, p. 42; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶ *tatra sarva-redasādhāraṇaśikṣā.....atha śikṣāṃ pravakṣyāmīti pañcakhaṇḍātmiṇā Pāṇinīnā prakāśitā. Prasthāna-bheda, ed. Weber, p. 16.*

⁷ ŚS. p 60.

⁸ *svaratāḥ kālataḥ sthāna-prayatnānupradānataḥ.
savanādyaiś ca sā śikṣā varṇānāṃ pāṭha-śikṣaṇāt.*

There seems to be another fact which goes in favour of the view presented above. As we have seen before (§ 25) that the PŚ. has a theory of production of the speech-sounds (3-6). The (Taitt. Pr.¹) surely betrays an acquaintance with it. The acquaintance of the Vāj. Pr. is probably clearer.² The Rk. Pr. (I, 18)³ too seems to have known this. It is not clear if the APr. knew of it. But the silence of the last work may well be explained by assuming that its author did not probably consider it necessary to include the theory in his sūtras, for he might well have assumed a knowledge of it on the part of the readers.

31. Thus we can well take the PŚ. as the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga. This view will be further strengthened when we shall discuss below the relation of the PŚ. with the Aṣṭādhyāyī and will produce evidence to show that the two works in all likelihood proceeded from the same master's hand. But before taking up the relation between the PŚ. and the Aṣṭādhyāyī we shall have to examine the claim of another work for the position of the Vedāṅga. Dr. Raghu Vira in an article named 'Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini' published in the J R A S, 1931, (pp. 653 ff.) claims to have discovered the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini. From the several arguments which he puts forth with great enthusiasm it may appear that the sūtra work of his discovery (DPS. or Dayānanda's Phonetic Sūtras) is the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. But on a closer examination of the arguments we find that they are not as sound as Dr. Raghu Vira believes them to be. He starts with the assumption that the DPS. is the lost phonetic sūtras of Pāṇini though no independent authority

¹ उरसि मन्द्रम् । कण्ठे मध्यमम् । शिरसि तारम्
See foot-note of § 28.

² अथ शिवाविहिताः । सवनक्रमेणोरःकण्ठमूत्रमथ
seems to mean the PŚ.

³ कण्ठोऽकारः प्रथमपञ्चमौ च हावृष्णौ केचिदेता उरस्यौ (I, 18).

The view of 'some' who took 'h' as an *urasya* sound can be compared with the PŚ. 10. which has 'h' as *aurasa* under certain circumstances.

XXIII, 10-12. Whitney, XXIII. 10),

नि (I, 29-30). By Śikṣā Kātyāyana

the fourteen sections of the *Vedāṅga Prakāśa*, a grammar which Svāmī Dayānanda compiled for the use of the Vedic students. It is probably due to inadvertence that Dr. Raghu Vira did not mention this fact in his article. The different sections of the *Vedāṅga Prakāśa* including the first one have also been issued separately. The first of these sections bears the title of the *Varṇoc-cāraṇa-Śikṣā* by Pāṇini. This sūtra-work as has been shown by Dr. Raghu Vira (*loc. cit.*) resembles the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin, the Buddhist grammarian, who flourished about 500 A.C.¹ Considering the great influence which Candragomin exercised on the grammarians of Pāṇini's school (the Kāśikā and the *Vākyapadīya* showing traces of such influence) it is quite possible that some late grammarian re-edited and amplified the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin and fathered this upon Pāṇini, evidently for imparting to it a superior authority. Though there is no sufficient material to prove this we are inclined to suggest that this late grammarian was Svāmī Dayānanda himself who, among other things was a very close student of Sanskrit grammars as his *Vedāṅgaprakāśa* and the edition of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* show. But whatever may be the actual fact about the authorship of the DPS., it is sure that the work is neither from the hands of Pāṇini nor an old one.²

33. *Its Author.* Now if we are sure about the fact that the PS. is the real *Vedāṅga Śikṣā* we shall have to take up the problem of its authorship. Though the work has probably been drawn upon by very old authors³ its author has not been

¹ This date is assigned by S. R. Belvalkar (*Systems of Skt. Grammars*, p. 58). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma places C. in the 7th century (See his *Critical Studies*, p. 8) at the latest.

² Dr. Paul Thieme with a somewhat different line of argument disallows the genuineness of Pāṇini's Phonetic Sūtras discovered by Dr. Raghu Vira (see his *Pāṇini and the Veda*, p. 86). We do not agree with him on all points.

³ Dr. Paul Thieme thinks that if Patañjali knew the PS. as Pāṇini's work, he would have referred to it 'in unambiguous terms' and would have treated it with the same respect as Pāṇini's grammar (p. 86). Hence, as the PS. has not been referred to by Patañjali, one may according to Dr. Thieme reject its relation with Pāṇini. But it would be a mistake to place too much confidence on the argument of silence, which may be otherwise explained.

mentioned till very late (see § 25). The earliest evidence about the existence of the complete work is perhaps the *Agni Purāṇa* which is usually placed in the 800 A.C. But it does not refer to Pāṇini as the author of the *Sikṣā* though in case of the metrical version of Pāṇḍala's prosody the source has been mentioned (see Notes on 1). This can well be taken to mean that to the compiler of the *Agni Purāṇa* the authorship of the PŚ was not known. But we have seen before (§ 29) that Madhusūdana Sarasvati in the 15th century in no unambiguous terms considers Pāṇini to be the author of this *Sikṣā* though the *Sikṣā-Praśāṅga*, a commentary to the PŚ which is possibly earlier (c. 1200 A.C.) than Madhusūdana, ascribes the latter work to Pāṇḍala. Thus the problem of the authorship of the PŚ with its late and mutually conflicting data seems to possess no dependable means for its solution. But we need not feel hopeless in the matter. External evidence failing we turn to the PŚ itself and find some important hints which are being discussed below.

(a) It is usually known that Pāṇini was a great grammarian but his greatness as a phonetician is no less considerable. But unfortunately it has scarcely been noticed and far less emphasised. This sort of defective appreciation of Pāṇini is due to the mistaken notion commonly held that the *Pratīśikhyas*, even if they are not actual grammars, are grammatical writings.¹ But in fact the *Pratīśikhyas* are purely phonetical treatises. Viewed in this light we find that Pāṇini has treated in his grammar *śvara* (pitch) and *mātrā* (quantity) of vowels as well as *samhitā* (euphonic combination).² These items as we have seen before (§ 16) are, according to the *Taitt. Upaniṣad*, the three

¹ Winternitz Vol. III pp. 361-362. Lakshman Sarup, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Śikṣā* (English Translation and Notes, London 1901) p. 270. B. Varma, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observation of Indian Grammar* (pp. 14-15), B. Basu, *The Śikṣā* (Introduction) pp. 12.

² The *Āśādhyañi* treats of *śvara* in chapters VI (1. 89-2. 10) and VIII (1. 27-31) and in many other places. The *mātrā* has been treated in chapter VI (3. 111-138) and the *samhitā* in Chapters VI (1. 72 f. and 3. 111 f.) and VIII (3. 14; 43-44).

among the six branches of the Śikṣā or phonetics. Can there be a better evidence of Pāṇini's masterly knowledge of phonetics? But this evidence alone is not sufficient to identify Pāṇini with the author of the PŚ. What we may gather from the above is that of the two names Pāṇini and Piṅgala proposed for the authorship of the PŚ. the case for the former is stronger.

(b) Besides this a comparison of the contents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the PŚ. further strengthens the claim of Pāṇini to the authorship of the PŚ. From such comparison we gather the following facts¹ pointing to the handiwork of the same author.

(i) In the PŚ. Pāṇinian Pratyāhāras, such as *ac*, *car*, *ghaś*, *yaṇ*, *jaś*, *śar*, *hal*, have been requisitioned.

(ii) *ku*, *cu*, *ṭu*, *tu* and *pu* have been used to indicate respectively *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* groups. This convention has been formulated in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 69) *aṇudīt savarṇasya cā 'pratyayaḥ*.

(iii) The PŚ. (17) includes the Anunāsika into speech-sounds while its definition has been given in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 9.) *mukha-nāsikā-vacano' nunāsikaḥ*.

(iv) The explanation of terms like *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta* has also been given there (I. 2. 27, *ukālo'j hrasva-dīrgha-plutaḥ*).

(v) According to a rule of *ṇa-tva* as laid down in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (VIII. 4.1). *n* after *r* and *ṣ* turns to *ṇ*. From this we get *r* as a cerebral sound. According to the PŚ. (11) too *r* as well as *ṣ* is a cerebral sound (Prātiśākhya have *r* either in the roots of the teeth or close to the teeth (see Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

All these fairly settle the question of the authorship of the PŚ. Now the important question arises which of the two, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the PŚ., was composed first. To find this out we must remember once more the different branches of the Śikṣā as enumerated in the Taitt. Upaniṣad, *varṇa*, *svara*, *mātrā*, *bala*, *sāma* and *santāna*. Pāṇini as we have

¹ Pāṇini's Śikṣā brought to light by Dr. Raghu Vira lacks similar facts, hence Dr. Paul Tiliak rightly rejects the genuineness of the work (see *op. cit.*, p. 86).

seen before (§33a) treated *śāstra*, *mītra* and *śāstrina* (*śāstrinā*) in his grammar. Of the remaining three branches *Uśa* and *śūtra* can scarcely be the fit subject of a theoretical treatise. Hence *śāstra* (speech-sounds) alone was left without treatment in the *Aṣṭadhyāyī*. Now Pāṇini, who undertook to build up his great *Sūtrasūtra*, the *Vyākaraṇa-Vedāṅga*,¹ could not very naturally think of leaving *śāstra* without any treatment. This is probably the reason why he wrote the PS which is as it were a companion to his famous grammar.

34. It may now be asked why Pāṇini wrote the PS in metre and not in prose-sūtras. We may think that such a question is not difficult to answer. Considering the simplicity and shortness of the subject to be treated Pāṇini, it may be assumed, adopted in case of the *Sūtras* the metre style which for the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* with its complex subject-matter would have been quite unfit.

35. Now this being practically certain that the PS as reconstructed here, is from the hands of Pāṇini we get some rough idea about the age of the work. But as the PS seems to offer some fresh data for this purpose we shall discuss below various points of view on Pāṇini's age and try to suggest some time in which the great Indian grammarian was likely to have flourished. Pāṇini has variously been placed between 500 B.C. - 400 B.C.² The view of those who hold that Pāṇini should be placed in about 350 B.C. should be considered first.³ Their main argument against an earlier date is the fact that Pāṇini

¹ Winternitz does not admit that of 183 I.2. Vol. III, p. 23. But the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* of Pāṇini is a *Vedāṅga*, but this is against the traditional Indian view. Madhuchandra in his *Prasiddhānta* writes पण्य (संज्ञासूत्र) रूपे व्यकरणवेदवेदङ्ग (cf. Weber, pp. 14-17). In the introduction to the *Śikṣāśāstra* Pāṇini's text *Vedāṅga* var. Bombay, 1914) Mallināthaśāstrīya Paṇini Śikṣāśāstra Śāstra and assumes the claim of all extant *Vyākaraṇas* for *Vedāṅga* and concludes व्यकरणवेदवेदङ्ग (cf. Mallinātha, pp. 6-8).

² Winternitz, Vol. III, pp. 23-4. P. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.* p. 23; Mañuśāstrī, *Ind. Aś. Post.*, p. 19; Ideich, *Idelul*, p. 8; Keith, *HIO*, Vol. 18, pp. clxxvii - clxxviii; Mañuśāstrī, *Idelul*, 1901.

Dr. Paul Thieme very rightly characterizes the use of this date as 'due to a common but wholly unproved belief' (*op. cit.* p. 67).

used the word *yavana* which they think could not have entered India before Alexander's invasion. But this argument has been very ably refuted by Professors S. K. Belvalkar and H. Sköld —Belvalkar, *Systems of Skt. grammar*, pp. 15 ff.; Sköld, *Papers on Pāṇini*, pp. 24 ff.). The latter has shown very conclusively "that old Indian *yavana* must have entered this language before 520 B. C., and there is no reason at all to locate P ā ṇ i n i as late as after Alexander the Great on account of the here-quoted sūtra." "Moreover Prof. Liebich has proved that P ā ṇ i n i's rules apply to the language of the Brāhmaṇas, some obsolete (perhaps archaic) forms only separating his language from that of the Brāhmaṇas (*Papers on Pāṇini*, p. 38)." On the basis of this finding of Prof. Liebich, Prof Sköld thinks that Pāṇini must have belonged to the latter Vedic period of the Indian literature (*loc. cit.*). Prof. Liebich however is not willing to assign Pāṇini to a period before Buddha (*Pāṇini*, p. 8; Winternitz, Vol. III, p. 383). But he seems to have been over-cautious in the matter. For he himself admits, according to Prof. Sköld, that Pāṇini seems to be less lax than that of the Sūtras (*op. cit.*, p. 41.)¹ Prof. Sköld concludes on the basis of this view of Prof. Liebich that we could be inclined to place Pāṇini in a period shortly preceding the Sūtra literature proper (*loc. cit.*) Now the sūtra works which are considered to be among the oldest have been placed in 500 B.C. (Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 136).

36. From the above discussion it appears that Pāṇini was most probably earlier than 500 B.C. And there seems to be other facts too which seem to corroborate this view. For example the Aṣṭādhyāyī which mentions the Brāhmaṇa literature no less than four times (II. 3. 60; IV. 1. 66, 3. 103; V. 1. 62) and distinguishes between the old and the new Brāhmaṇas, does not refer to the Āraṇyaka literature though the word 'āraṇyaka'

¹ Keith on the doubtful authority of Pāṇini, VI. 1, 157, concludes that the grammarian knew Pāraskara the sūtrakāra. His views about Pāṇini's acquaintance with Kātyāyana the Śrautasūtrakāra, and the Kauśika sūtrakāra also seems to be inadmissible. (Translation of the Yajurveda, p. clxix.)

the sense of 'forest dweller', has once (IV 1. 120) been mentioned. That Kātyāyana composed a Vārttika to extend the use of the word 'āranyaka' to an *adhyaṭmī* (most probably of the Ājñāna) may be taken to mean that in Pāṇini's time the ānyaka appendices to the Brāhmanas were not yet written or at least if they might have been written they were not styled as the ānyakas. Now accepting the second alternative as being more likely we can place Pāṇini at the close of the Brāhmanya period. Along with this we should mark another fact, viz., the non-occurrence of the word 'upaniṣad' in the sense of 'secret instructions' in religio-philosophical texts containing them in Pāṇini's Aṣṭa-ṣyī (Pāṇini, I 4. 79, indeed has the word 'upaniṣad' in the compound *upaniṣatīkṛt*) which literally means 'sitting very close to', i.e., in a private manner. Now we may well conclude that the Āranyakas which contain Upaniṣads were not old at the time of Pāṇini, for they were not yet known as Āranyakas Upaniṣads. Now the oldest among the Upaniṣads are considered to have been compiled about 500 B.C.¹ Hence we could not place Pāṇini later than 500 B.C. It is likely that Pāṇini lived some time earlier than this.² The diphthongal character of *e* and *o* which Pāṇini has recorded in his Śikṣā (13) shows that the language described by him was in the same stage of evolution as the Old Persian of the Cuneiform Inscriptions (500 B.C.) of Persepolis. For this latter language too has diphthongs corresponding to our *e* and *o* (see Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux Perse*, pp. 55 ff.). As we have no Old Persian Śikṣā we do not know what the actual phonetic value of diphthongs *ai* (Skt. *e*) and *au* (Skt. *o*) was. It is likely that the graphic system was ahead of the phonetic development. The fact that Pāṇini has

¹ Deussen, *Philosophy of Upanishads*, pp. 13-15. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 38.

² Cf. Keith, *Tr. of Yajurveda*, II 09, p. clxvii.

³ Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴ Dr. Paul Thieme seems to support such a conclusion in his following remark: "Pāṇini's grammar must have been composed at a time when the language of the North was yet to be necessary" (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

given rules in his grammar of the proper accentuation of the *bhāṣā* words (VI. 1. 181, vibhāṣā *bhāṣāyām*; VIII. 2.98, Pūrvam tu *bhāṣāyām*) shows that the current language of his time was much ahead of the classical Sanskrit (which has lost its accents) and was nearer the Vedic phase (though in its very late form) of the Old Indo-Aryan than the latter. In addition to this we should also reckon the fact that Pāṇini's grammar was originally accented like a Mantra or Brāhmaṇa text (*vide ante* § 26) and as such it should be assigned at the latest to the close of the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

COMMENTARIES TO THE PS.

37. *The Śiṣya Pañjikā.* The MSS. and the printed text from which the present edition has been re-constructed have been described before (§ 26) in connexion with the text of the Pāṇ recension of the PS. We are now giving below the main features of the commentary reconstructed. The Pāṇ recension of the PS, as we have seen before (§ 26) came into existence between 800 and 1100 A.C. Hence the Pañjikā itself may be tentatively placed somewhere in the 12th century. Thus the work which may be as old as seven centuries is sure to contain some old materials. Some of these, such as a reference to Audavrajī, has already been pointed out (§ 2b). These materials will be discussed below. According to the Pañjikā, the Śikṣā is the science by which the pronunciation of speech-sounds is learnt (*Śiṣyate'nayā rāṇocāranam itī Śiṣya*, p 8, lines 3-4). This is to be compared with the term *rāṇasikṣā* occurring in the RPr. (XIV. 20). It is not possible that the author of this work has referred by this term to Prātiśākhya and this being the case *rāṇasikṣā* relates to the Śikṣā of the early period when it still lacked the later elaboration as observed in the Prātiśākhya (see §§ 16, 23). Hence the RPr. has scarcely any legitimate claim to interpret this word as 'Prātiśākhya', which must have existed considerably earlier than the time when the RPr. was compiled. The Pañjikā in the definition of Śikṣā quoted above seems to have preserved this tradition which agreed so well with the fact that the PS deals merely with the utterance of the speech-sounds of the Old Indo-Aryan as represented in Vedic texts. Besides this it gives us rare informations on the following points

(a) There are two anusvāras (p. 10, line 11; p. 12, lines 9-10). No other authorities seem to have taken notice of this fact.

(b) A quotation from the Brhadāraṇyaka Up. (p. 15, lines 22-23) occurring in this commentary varies to some extent from the text of this work as received from Śaṅkarācārya.

(c) In the reconstruction of the PŚ. 13 this commentary has given a valuable hint (see p. 18, lines 6-7). From this hint we may assume that the author of the Pañjikā had PŚ. 13 as reconstructed by us. But he however could not rightly explain this passage.

(d) It gives us the old name for anusvāra as *anusvārah nāsikyah* (p. 18, lines 12-13). For details about the anusvāra see Note 27.

So much for the importance of the Pañjikā. In spite of its valuable aspects it should not be considered infallible. It has the weakness of average commentaries of Skt. and Pkt. works. Sometimes it gives information and explanation which are not accurate. For example, the Pañjikā considers *prayatna* as twofold in spite of its Śikṣā text (see p. 14, line 13). It is possible that he failed to understand the passage (18) properly. The same appears to be the case in its determination of the quantity of the component parts of *e*, *o* and *ai*, *au* (See p. 18, lines 6-7; and Note 23). The author of the Pañjikā is ignorant about the authorship of the PŚ. which it considers to have been written in conformity with the teaching of Pāṇini. In this he simply believed what was given in the first couplet (*Pāṇinīyam mataṃ yathā*, of the Pñj. version of the Śikṣā). This however weakens the testimony of the author of the Śikṣā-Prakāśa commentary, who considers that Piṅgala, the younger brother of Pāṇini, was the author of the PŚ. (p. 23, line 8).

37. *The Śikṣā-Prakāśa*. This commentary has been received in corrupt¹ MSS., at least the two we could directly or indirectly use are such (see § 2 c). It is inferior in worth to the Pañjikā discussed above. But it has importance in the following points :

¹ The corruption is most palpable in the passage at p. 26, lines 22 ff.

(a) It ascribes the authorship of the PS to Piṅgali, the younger brother of Pāṇini (see p. 23, line 7). The authenticity of this information has been discussed before (§23).

(b) It defines the *Sikṣā* as a science for the utterance of (proper) pitch (of vowels) and speech sounds in general (*Sikṣā śāstram* *śikṣā śāstram* p. 23, line 15). This is different from the definition given in the *Pañjikā* (see §37). Apparently slight though this definition is, it is not without importance. In the *Pañjikā* definition we find speech sounds only as subject of instruction while in the *Prakṛṣṭa śāstra* (pitch accent) comes in. It may be assumed that the two definitions point to two distinct traditions having their origin in two successive stages in study of Vedic Phonetics. That is, speech sounds came first of all to be studied and the pitch received attention later or at least was treated in a *śāstra* later (see also §12).

(c) In the reconstruction of the PS 13 this commentary gives valuable help. Though the MSS are defective on this point the original reading of the passage before the author of the *Prakṛṣṭa* can easily be guessed from them (see p. 21, line 16).

(d) This commentary ascribes to the Brāhmadevī of Śaunaka the following couplet *śāstra śāstra kṛtām mītrā rāyogārtham (?) eṣa ca, māntām yujīsamīnena veditavyam pade pade* (p. 24, lines 6-7).

38 Of the two available commentaries of the PS, the *Sikṣā Pañjikā* seems to be the earlier because it is written in a simpler style and has better acquaintance with the old phonetical traditions. The first point will be clear to any one who will compare for himself the language of the two commentaries. And to substantiate the second point we shall refer the treatment of the Anusvāra. About the exact manner of its pronunciation there is difference of opinion among specialists in the Indo-Aryan linguistics (see Wackernagel, I §§223-224). Whitney understands the phonetic value of the Anusvāra which is nothing but the nasal vowel (T. Pr. 2. 80, JAOS, Vol. 10, p. lxxxvi,

Mem. Soc. ling. 2. 194 ff. ref. Wackernagel). But Wackernagel and others do not accept this. After a fresh examination of the various Prātiśākhya passages together with the opinion of PŚ. on this point we find Whitney to be right. The Anusvāra is nothing but a nasalization of the preceding vowel. The fuller name of the Anusvāra was Anusvāra-*Nāsikyaḥ* or Anusvāraḥ *Nāsikyaḥ*, a post-vocal nasal or a nasal vowel. It has sometimes been called simply *Nāsika* or *Nāsikya* too. That the name Anunāsika, which according to Pāṇini (I.1.8) means only nasal stops, has been used to indicate nasal vowels for a pretty long time, seems to have been due to a misunderstanding (more about this point in Notes to the PŚ.).

39. Now the anonymous author of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā seems to have been fully aware of the true nature of the Anusvāra. Hence in his comment on Pñj. 17 (PŚ. 14-15) he quotes from Audavraji an entire passage enumerating the Ayogavāhas as follows :

अयोगवाहाः अः इति विसर्जनीयः × इति जिह्वामूलीयः, × इति उपस्थानीयः
अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः इत्ययोगवाहाः ।

This passage occurs in the first Prapāṭhaka of the Ṛkṭantra (ed. S. Sastri, p. 2, ll. 11-12) with the difference that the latter reads *हुमिचनुनासिकः* (v.l. *हिमिचनुनासिकम्*, °नासिक्यः). In view of the fact that the Ṛkṭantra mentions *अनुस्वारो* not much later, and *अनुस्वार* as one of the Ayogavāhas, it is evident that the extant Ṛkṭantra is corrupt in the passage *हुमिचनुनासिकः*. The reading *अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः* surely goes to the Ur-text of the Audavraji¹ which must have been partially included in his work by the author² or the Vṛttikāra or the Ṛkṭantra.

¹ But some of the other quotations in the Pañjikā from Audavraji are corrupt. (See below.)

² Audavraji who has been mentioned in the sūtra 60 of the Ṛkṭantra can scarcely be its author. The first Prapāṭhaka which is not counted as an integral part of the Ṛkṭantra by the MS. B was in all likelihood a part of the original work of Audavraji (see ed. S. Sastri, Introduction, p. 34).

40 Thus it appears that the author of the *Pañjika* flourished at a time when the original work of Audavraji was still available in a more or less correct form and in fact he may be older than the *Vrttikara* of the *Rktantra* who appears by no means to be modern. Thus apart from offering a help in solving certain problems connected with the text of the *PS* (see Note) the *Sikṣa-Pañjika* has importance on account of the information it gives about Audavraji, who has been mentioned, as far as we know, in four other works —the *Nārāyaṇa Śikṣā* (II 8 5) and the *Śikṣa Prakāśa* commentary to the *PS* and the *Vamśa Brahmana* of the *Sama Veda* (*Ind Stud* IV, pp 374 386) and the *Rktantra* (§ 60)¹

Some of Audavraji's passages cited in the *Sikṣa Pañjika* occur in the *Rktantra* with its *vrtti* and some occur in a distorted manner and some do not occur. Let us quote them below in a classified manner.

(a) *Occurring in full*

- i अनन्त्यान्तसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वगुणः (RT 2 14)
- ii स्पृष्ट करण स्यानाम् दु स्पृष्टमन्त स्थानाम् (RT 3 1)
- iii अनुस्वारो अं आ इत्यनुस्वारो, ह्रस्व द्वौर्वा दीर्घाद्भूतो वर्णः (RT 2 14 15)

(b) *Occurring with different readings*

- i हो नादानुप्रदानौ (cf RT 3 3 नादानुप्रदाना) The correct reading seems to have been हो नादस्वासानुप्रदानौ ।

ii स्रग्ं वर्गस्य स्रग्ंग्रहणे च ज्ञेयम् । वर्गस्य ग्रहणं स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः, of स्रग्ं र्गस्य ॥३॥ स्रग्ं वर्गस्य ग्रहणं विज्ञेयम् । स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः (RT 7 1 2) The RT reading seems to be correct

- iii अयोगवाहा. अ. इति विसर्जनोप × क इति जिह्वामूनीय × प इति उपध्मानोय अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक् इत्ययोगवाहा (Diff with RT shown above)

¹ The very fact that the *Pañjika* does not quote from any of the late *Śikṣa* works except the *Nārāyaṇa Śikṣā* probably show that these latter are later in origin than the *Pañjika* or at least they were not yet counted as authority at its time. From this fact also we may assume the old age of the *Pañjika*.

iv. श्वासोऽघोषाणां तृतीयात् प्रथमानामुभावघोषश्चतुर्थानां युग्माः सोष्माणम्
(Cf. श्वासोऽघोषाणाम् । तनीयान् प्रथमानामुभौऽचतुर्थानां (R.T. 3. 3) also
युग्माः सोष्माणः ॥६॥ (R.T. 7. 10).

(c) *Not occurring.*

i. निमेषकाला माता स्यात् ।

Besides Audavraji the Pañjikā has laid the following works under contribution : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śruti, Chāndogya Śruti (Upaniṣad), Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, Uṇādi Sūtras, Bhagavad Gītā, Patañjali, Manusamhitā, Ṛk-Prātiśākhya, Nāradiya Śikṣā.

41. In spite of its importance discussed above the author of the Pañjikā seems to have misunderstood the PŚ. very much; for example, his explanation of PŚ. 13 (= Pñj. 15) may be cited (see Note 23). But in this matter he seems to have been misguided by Uvaṭa¹ if the latter was his predecessor, or both he and Uvaṭa born long after Pāṇini, when the Middle Indo-Aryan speech-habits had already overwhelmed to a certain extent the purity of the Phonetic tradition among the Vedic priests, have independently failed to explain correctly the difference between *e* and *o* with *ai* and *au* respectively. Other features of the Pañjikā have been discussed in Notes.

42. The Śikṣā-Prakāśa or the Prakāśa does not seem to be a very old commentary to the PŚ. Some points regarding its date have been mentioned before. The Prakāśa quotes *verbatim* a passage (p. 23) from Viṣṇumitra's commentary to the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya. Now we do not possess any definite evidence about the time of Viṣṇumitra. The fragment of his writing prefixed to the available MSS. of Uvaṭa's commentary to the ṚPr. shows that he enjoyed some popularity among the Vedic priests and hence his fragment was saved from oblivion by putting it at the beginning of Uvaṭa's work. Thus we may assume that Viṣṇumitra was not later than Uvaṭa (11th century A.C.)

¹ Uvaṭa (on VPr. I. 73) is right so far in his analysis of *ai* and *au*, *a*-element of both being taken as equivalent to a *mātrā*, but his remark अनेनैव क्रमेण एकारौकारौ व्याख्यातौ is not clear and the view of unnamed authority (*kecid*) quoted by him is misleading.

This gives us the upper limit to the Prakāśa; the lower limit is to be had from the author's conjectural identity with the commentator of the Piṅgalacchandaḥ-Sūtras. This is 1800 A.C.

43. This commentary (Prakāśa) quotes from Pāṇini, Yāska, Nāradya Śikṣā, Gautamī Śikṣā, Śaunaka, Patañjali and Audavraji. The only quotation from the last authority seems to be taken not from any original work of Audavraji but from some author who quoted him. The case with the author of Pañjikā was different, for he quoted as much as he could (see before). The fact that the Prakāśa does not quote any of the late Śikṣās except the Nāradya and the Gautamī Śikṣā probably shows that it is not quite modern.

Table C

A Conspectus of Text-units of different Recensions,
showing their relative position.

Note.—Numerals indicate the serial number of hemistiches in a particular recension.

Hemistiche.	Rk. recension.	Yaj. recension.	Prk. recension.	Pnj. recension.	Ap. recension.	Reconstructed
atha śikṣāṃ etc.	1	1	1	1	...	...
śāstrāṇu-pūrvyam ,,	2	2	2	2	...	...
prasiddham api ,,	3	3	3	3	...	...
punar vyakti- ,,	4	4	4	4	...	...
triṣaṣṭiś catuṣ- ,,	5	5	5	5	cf 1	...
Prākṛte Saṃskṛte ,,	6	6	6	6	..	...
svarā vimśatir ,,	7	7	7	7	2	1
yādayaś ca ,,	8	8	8	8	3	2
anusvāro visargaś ,,	9	9	9	9	4	3
duḥsprṣṭaś cēti ,,	10	10	10	10	5	4
ātmā buddhyā ,,	11	15	11	11	8	5
manah kāyāgnim ,,	12	16	12	12	9	6
mārutas tūraśi ,,	13	17	13	13	10	7
prātaḥ-savanayogaṃ,,	14	18	14	14	11	8
kaṇṭhe mādhyan- ,,	15	19	15	15	12	9
tārāṃ tārṭiyasavanam,,	16	20	16	16	13	10
sodīṇo mūrdhna- ,,	17	21	17	17	14	11
varṇā janayate ,,	18	22	18	18	15	12
svarataḥ kālataḥ ,,	19	23	19	19	16	13
iti varṇa-vidaḥ ,,	20	24	20	20	...	14
udātṭāś cānudātṭāś ,,	21	45	*21	21	17	15

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches	Rk recension	Ya; recension	Prk recension	Pā; recension	AP recension	Reconstructed
hrasvo dīrghaḥ etc	22	46	*22	23	18	16
udātte n pāda	23	27	*23			
avar ta prabhavā	24	28	*24			
aṣṭaḥ sikhānāḥ	25	25	25	23	19	17
ḥ hrasvāḥ ca	26	26	26	24	20	18
obhivāḥ ca	27	27	*27		21	
ḥ bhavāḥ rūḍam upādhamā	28	30	*28		22	
yady obhāvā	29	31	*29		23	
avarāntap	30	30	*30		24	
bakārap pāncamair	31	19	31		6	19
anraṣyap tap	32	14	30		7	
kaṣṭhyāḥ abā vicu	33	47	33	25	33	21
ayur mūrdhnavā	34	48	34	26	34	22
ḥ bhavāmūle tu	35	49	35	27	35	23
o ai tu kaṣṭha	36	50	40	28	36	24
a dhamaṭra tu	37	51	41	29	37	25
a (olkāraukarayor	38	52	42	30		26
upadā nānāḥ ḥṣmā		53	43	32		28
saṁvṛtāp mātrkāp	39					
ghoṣṭi vā saṁ ṛtāḥ	40					
avarāṣṭam pumanap	41	57	45			
tebhyaḥ pi vivṛtav	42	58	46			27
anuvāra yamānap	43			31		27
syogavāḥ vi ḥṣya	44	54	44	33	38	29
slab vīpa	45	55	36*	34		30
an avaras tu	46	56	37*	35		31
anuvāra vivṛtyāp	47					

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches.	Pk. recension.	Yaj. recension.	Prk. recension.	Pñj. recension.	AP. recension.	Reconstructed.
dvir oṣṭhan tu etc. ...	48	...	...	...	...	...
vyāghrī yathā ,, ...	49	39	58	...	...	...
bhītā patanabhedā ,, ...	50	40	59	..	..	...
yathā saurāṣṭrikā ,, ...	51	...	*88	...	...	...
evam raṅgā ,, ...	52	...	*89	...	...	...
raṅga-varṇam ,, ...	53	...	...	...	...	...
dīrgha-svaram ,, ...	54	...	...	...	...	...
hṛdaye caika- ,, ...	55	...	...	...	...	...
nūśikāyām ,, ...	56	...	...	...	...	...
hṛdayāt utkaṣṭe ,, ...	57	...	...	...	...	...
māṭḍavam ca dvimātram,, ...	58	...	...	...	...	...
madhye tu kampayet ,, ...	59	...	...	...	...	...
saraṅgam kampayet ,, ...	60	...	...	...	...	...
evam varṇāḥ ,, ...	61	41	60	...	31	...
samyag-varṇa- ,, ...	62	42	61	...	32	...
abhyāsārthe drutām ,, ...	...	43	62	...	...	...
śiṣyāṇām upadeśārthe ,, ...	...	44	63	...	...	...
gītī śighrī ,, ...	63	...	...	...	...	...
anarthañño' lpa- ,, ...	64	...	...	...	...	...
mādhuryam akṣara- ,, ...	65	...	...	...	...	...
dhairyaṃ laya- ,, ...	66	...	...	...	...	...
śaṅkitam bhītam , ...	67	...	...	...	...	...
kākasavarām śirasigam ,, ..	68	...	..	...	..	...
unāṃśu-daṣṭam ,, ...	69	...	...	...	..	...
nīṣṭiḍitam grasta- ,, ...	70	...	...	...	...	..
prātaḥ pathen ,, ...	71	...	...	...	...	...
mādhyaṇdine ,, ...	72	...	...	...	...	...

Table C- (contd.)

Hemistiches	Rk recension	YaJ recension	Prk recension	Pn recension	AP recension	Reconstructed
tāraṃ tu vidyāt etc. ..	73					
mayūra hamsānya ,	74					
aco'sprṣṭa vapas ..	75	59	47	36	39	33
śeṣaḥ aprṣṭā .	76	60	48	37	40	33
śa(ya)mo'zunā-ikā ..	77	61	49	38	41	34
śannāḍā yano ..	78	62	50	39	42	35
śa'rchvā-āpś caro ..	79	63	51	40	43	35
Dakṣipatraḥ .. .	80	65	65			
ratnabhūtam idaṃ ..		66	66			
chandaḥ pādan tu ,	81					.
lyotṣam ayanam ..	82					
śikṣā ybraṇaṃ tu , .	83					
tsamā' saṅgam ..	84					
udāttaṃ ākhyāti ..	85					
upānte madhye ..	86					
udāttaṃ pradeśinīp ,	87					
n īstaṃ tu ..	88					
antō āttam ..	89					
madhyō lattaṃ ..	90					
agnih somaḥ ,	91					
anur ity antōdāttaṃ ,	92					
baviṣā madhyōdattaṃ ..	93 94					
anu latta hṛd 	95					
avaritāḥ karna , --- ---	96			..		---
cagaś tu ..	97					
śikhī rauti ..	98					
kutiribad agatam ,	99	83	82		25	

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches.				Rk. recension.	Yaj. recension.	Ptk. recension.	Pñj. recension.	A.P. recension.	Reconstructed.
na tasya pāṭhe	etc.	...	...	100	31	53	...	26	...
autīrthād āgatam	..	...	...	101	35	51	...	27	...
susvareṇa	..	...	...	102	36	55	...	28	...
na karālo na lambaṣṭho	..	...	...	..	37	56	...	29	...
gadgado vadhaḥjivhaś-ca	..	...	...	...	38	57	...	30	...
mantra hīnaḥ	..	...	...	103	...	...	48	...	...
sa vāgvajro	..	...	...	104	...	...	42	...	...
avakṣeram	..	...	...	105	...	...	...	...	...
akṣarā śastra rūpeṇa	..	...	...	106	...	...	...	...	...
hastabhinam	..	...	...	107	...	...	...	...	...
ṛg-yajuh-sāmabhir-	..	...	...	108	...	...	..	...	...
hastena vedam	..	...	...	109	...	...	...	...	...
ṛg-yajuh-sāmabhiḥ pūto	..	...	...	110	..	...	..	...	...
Śāṅkaraḥ Śāṅkarīm	..	...	...	111	61	61	43	...	...
vāṇmayeḥ-byah	..	...	...	112	...	...	41	...	...
yenākṣara-samāmnāyam	..	...	...	113	67	...	45	...	...
kṛtsnam vyākaraṇam	..	...	...	114	68	...	46	...	...
yena dhautā	..	...	...	115	...	...	...	..	...
tamaś cāññānam	..	...	...	116	...	...	...	...	...
aññānāndhasya	..	...	...	117	...	...	...	...	...
cakṣur unmilitam	..	...	...	118	...	...	...	...	...
trinayanam-abbimukha-	..	...	...	119	69	67	47 ^{re}	...	...
sa bhavati dharadhānya-	..	...	...	120	70	68	48	...	...

॥१॥

I. संस्कृतं मूलम् (The Reconstructed Text)

[वर्णसमाग्रायः]

[अ इ उ ण् ॥ ऋ लृ क् ॥ ए ओ ङ् ॥ ऐ औ च् ॥
ह य व र ट् ॥ ल ण् ॥ ञ म ङ ण न म् ॥ भ भ ङ् ॥
घ ढ ध ष् ॥ ज व ग ड द ण् ॥ ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व् ॥
क प य् ॥ श ष स र् ॥ ह ल् ॥]

[वर्णमंथ्या]

स्वरा विंगतिरेकस्य स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंगतिः ।
यादयस्य स्मृता द्यष्टौ चत्वारस्य यमाः स्मृताः ॥१॥
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क् षौ चापि पराश्रयौ ।
दुःस्पष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः भ्रुत एव च ॥२॥

[वर्णोत्पादो वर्णविभागश्च]

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।
मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥३॥
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
प्रातःसवनयोगं तं हृन्दो गायवमाश्रितम् ॥४॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
 तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥५॥
 सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्निभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
 वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥
 स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
 इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥७॥

[स्वरत्रयं कालत्रयञ्च]

उदात्तश्चाबुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
 ऋस्वो दीर्घः झुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥८॥

[उच्चारण-स्थानानि]

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
 जिह्वाभूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥९॥
 हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।
 औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१०॥
 कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजाबुपू ।
 स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥११॥
 जिह्वाभूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
 ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥१२॥
 अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।
 ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंहतम् ॥१३॥
 अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिकास्थानमुच्यते ।
 उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वाभूलीयनासिके ॥१४॥

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ।

अलावुवीणानिर्घोषोऽदन्तमूल्यः स्वरागनु ॥१५॥

अनुस्वारस्तु कर्त्तव्यो नित्य स्तोः शपसेषु च ।

[प्रथम-गीताः]

अचोऽस्मृष्टा यणस्त्वोपन्नेमस्मृष्टाः शलः स्मृताः ॥१६॥

शेषाः स्मृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता

[अशुप्रदान-गीताः]

निबोधानुप्रदानतः ।

जमोऽनुनामिका नक्षो नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृताः ॥१७॥

इपन्नादा यणो जय श्वासिनस्तु स्वफादयः ।

इपष्ट्वासांसरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥१८॥

॥२॥

II. अग्निपुराणान्तर्गता (The Agni-Purāṇa Recension)

वक्ष्ये ^१शिचां विषष्टिः स्युर्वर्णा वा ^२चतुरधिकाः ।

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ॥१॥

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च ^३यमाः स्मृताः ।

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ^४× क—पौ चापि ^५पराश्रितौ ॥२॥

॥२॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति ^६विज्ञेयो ^७लकारः स्मृत एव च ।^८

^९हकारं पञ्चमैर्युतमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ॥३॥

॥१०॥ औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठमाहुरसयुतम् ।

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान् ^{१०}मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ॥४॥

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ।

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् ^{११}मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ॥५॥

॥४॥ ^{१२}प्रातःसवनयोगं तं हृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ।

कण्ठे ^{१३}माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्वैष्टुभानुगम् ॥६॥

1. M. शिचान्.

2. M. चतुरधिकाः.

3. M. समा; for यमाः.

4. M. पौष्ठी for × क—पौ.

5. M. पराश्रितौ for पराश्रितौ.

6. M. विज्ञेयो.

7. MPbc. एकारः for लकारः.

8. In all MSS. after 3a occurs the following: रङ्गश्च खे अरं प्रोक्तं हकारः पञ्चमैर्युतः ।

अन्तस्थाभिः समायुक्तः औरः कण्ठ एव स. ॥ For रङ्गश्च खे अरं Pac read वक्ष्ये मुखेऽक्षरं and for प्रोक्तं हकारं Pbc read प्रोक्तमकारं, and for कण्ठ एव सः Pbc has कण्ठ ए कलः.

M. आत्मबुद्ध्या समेत्यर्थः.

9. V. om. See Introduction 2a. 10. M. मनोयुक्ते.

11. M. मन्त्र' for मन्द्र', Mb. माचम्.

12. M. °योगसु.

13. M. माध्यन्दिनं युतं,

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्य जागतानुगम् ।

सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्निभिहतो वक्तृमापद्य मारुतः ॥७॥

॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ।

॥७a॥ स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ॥८॥

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋसो दीर्घः स्मृत इति कालतो नियमा अचि^१ ॥९॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥९॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१०॥

^१भोभावसं विवृत्तिय शपमा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वामूलम् उपस्था च गतिरटविधोष्णः ॥११॥

यद्योभावप्रमथानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृग्य विद्याद् यदन्यद्वक्तृमूष्णः ॥१२॥

^२कुतीर्यादागतं दधम् अपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।

^३न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिः किन्विषात् ॥१३॥

सुतीर्यादागतं ध्यक्तं ^४ध्वान्नाय्य सुश्वस्यितम् ।

सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं वक्ष्य ^५राजते ॥१४॥

न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।

गह्रदो बहुजिह्वश्च न वर्णान् वक्तुमर्हति ॥१५॥

^६एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता नातिपीडिताः ।

सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥१६॥

1 P प्रयवार्थप्रदानत

2 M °बधि

3 M सभादय विवृत्तिय and P अनुष्ठारो विवृत्तय for भोभावय विवृत्तिय

4 M कुतीर्योद°.

5 P reads एकसुचारण पापमेवसुचारण दधम् instead of 13b (न तस्य पाठे etc) and M. एवसुचारण दधम्

6 M माद्याय

7 M राजति

8 Pbcd give this couplet preceded by यथा व्याधी हरेत् पुत्रान् दृष्ट्वाभ्यां न च पीडयेत् ।—(Yajus 20a) P gives 17b 18a as its 18, and 19b 20a as its 20,

¹कण्ठावहाविचयशास्त्रालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरप्रा दन्त्या लतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१७॥

जिह्वाभूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥12॥ ए ऐ तु ²कण्ठतालव्यावोच्ची कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥१८॥

॥13a॥ अर्द्धमात्रा तु ³कण्ठस्य एकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥15a॥ अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥१९॥

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्मृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमस्मृष्टाः⁴ शलः⁵ स्मृताः ।

शेषाः स्मृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता ⁶निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥२०॥

॥17॥ अमोऽनुनासिका नक्तो नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृतः ।

ईषन्नादा ⁸यणो जश्च ष्वासिनश्च ⁹खफादयः ।

॥18॥ ¹⁰ईषच्छासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥२१॥

1. P. कण्ठावहाविचयशा.

2. P. °तालव्या ए औ.

3. MV. कण्ठ स्यादेकारैकार°.

4. P. नेमाः (न) स्मृष्टाः and M. नो माः स्मृष्टाः for -नेमस्मृष्टाः.

5. MV. शरः for शलः.

6. PM. निबोधाय प्रधानतः for निबोधानुप्रदानतः.

7. M. यमोऽनुनासिका नक्तौ नादिनौ.

8. P. तमयैव, M. प(य)ण यज्ञः.

9. M. यकादयः.

10. P. ईषच्छाश.

III. पञ्जिका-संहिता (With the Pañjikā)

अथ गिचां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।

शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद्विद्याद् यद्योक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥

'पातु वो निकपद्यावा मतिहेग्रः सरस्वती ।

प्राञ्चेतरपरिच्छेदं वचसेव करोति या ॥

इन्द्रःकल्पनिरुक्तानि 'यित्तानीह सूरिमिः ।

'गिचा न विवृता यस्मात्तप्तात्ता विवृणोम्यहम् ॥

अथ गिचां प्रवक्ष्यामीति । अथेत्ययमानन्तर्यं । वेदाध्ययनान्तरमङ्ग-
पाठः । किं कारणम् ? 'पडङ्गो 'वेदोऽध्येतव्यः' इति स्मरणात् । तत्र 'च गिचा
प्रयत्ना, अथगद्दानुपद्गात् । सा 'च वक्तव्या इत्यथगद्दस्य' अर्थः । एतेनैव 'सिद्धे वेद-
स्याङ्गानन्तर्यं व्याकरणादिव्ययगद्दोऽत एव 'नाधीयते । केपुचित् कल्पेपु अधीयते
इति चेत् 'अधातोऽधिकारः,' 'अथेतस्य समान्नायस्य' इत्येवमादिपु नैव दोषः ।
नियमार्यः सः, 'गिचानन्तरं कल्प एवाध्येतव्यो नान्यानीति' । मङ्गलार्थो वा ।
आदौ सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि वक्तव्यानि । तत्र 'चायमेव सम्बन्धो यदुक्तोऽङ्गाङ्गि-
भावः । ' 'नियमसम्बन्धीनि अङ्गान्यङ्गिनः । अभिधेयं तु स्वयमेव वक्ष्यति—'वाच
उच्चारणे विधिम्' इति । प्रयोजनं सम्यक्वर्णोच्चारणम् । प्रयोजनमपि यूयते एव—

1. Before this A¹B have श्रीगणेशाय नमः, A¹ also ओं नमो गणपतये, A²H अथ
वेदाङ्गविद्याप्रारम्भः श्रीगणेशाय नमः and B पातु नमो

2. B निवृत्ता°.

3. IB गिचा स्वविवृतानाथं व्याख्यातां.

4. A² °वेदोऽध्येतव्यः.

5. A² omits च.

6. BHL omit च.

7. A¹ omits अर्थः ... वेदस्य.

8. सिद्धे सांगा° for सिद्धे वेदस्याङ्गा°

9. H. विधीयते.

10. B, गिचाया अनन्तरं.

11. A² omits इति.

12. B omits एव.

13. IILA² °स्वम्भानि राङ्गानि ; B. °स्वम्भिनी राङ्गानि.

॥प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।

पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥

“¹एकोऽपि वर्णः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः, स्वर्गे लोके² कामधुग् भवति” इति । शिक्ष्यतेऽनया वर्णोच्चारणमिति शिक्षा, तां प्रकर्षेण वक्ष्यामि कथयिष्यामि । पा णि नी यं म तं य थे ति । पाणिनीयमिति ‘वृद्धाच्छः’ (पा. ४.२.११४) इति छप्रत्ययः । तस्येदमित्यर्थनिर्देशः । म त मि ति । ³“मन ज्ञाने” पाणिनीयं मतं ज्ञानं यथा तथा प्रवक्ष्यामि तैरेव प्रत्याहारैस्तथैव ‘परिभाषया ‘अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्वीषत्’ इत्यादि ‘अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः’ (पा. १.१.६८) इति⁴ ‘कण्ठग्रावहाविच्युयशाः’ इति च ।⁵ तथाऽन्यदप्यनुक्तमत्र प्रयोजनं यत्तद् व्याकरणादेव ग्रहीतव्यं ‘मोऽनुस्वारः’ (पा. ८.३.२३) इति । ननु व्याकरणे शब्दचिन्ता, अत्रापि “सिति । ततश्च व्याकरणेनैव सिद्धत्वादिदमनारभ्यम् ? सत्यम् ; उभयोः शब्दचिन्ता, किन्तु व्याकरणे एतच्चिन्त्यते—गोशब्दः सास्त्रादिमित्यर्थं साधुः, इह तु गोशब्दो जिह्वामूलेनोच्चारयितव्य इति भेदः । शा स्त्रा नु पू र्व्यं त द्वि द्या दि ति । शास्त्रमिति शास्त्रेः करणे ढ्नप्रत्ययः । आनुपूर्व्यमिति गुरुपूर्वक्रमः । तदिति पाणिनिमतपरामर्शः । ⁶तत् पाणिनिमतमेवास्यापि शिक्षास्यशास्त्रस्याप्यानुपूर्व्यं विद्याद् वंशपरम्परां जानीयात् । पाणिनि-मतस्य यदानुपूर्व्यं यो गुरुपूर्वक्रमः स एवास्येत्यर्थः । तथा च वक्ष्यति—‘शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादात्’⁷ इत्यादि । य यो क्तं लो क वे द यो रि ति । ⁸समानार्थमित्यर्थः । तथा च ⁹भाष्यकारः—“य एव लौकिकाः शब्दास्त एव वैदिकास्त एव ¹⁰तेषामर्थाः” इति ॥१॥

नन्वकारादयो वर्णा स्वस्थानेनैवोच्चार्यन्ते ¹¹परस्थाननिराकाङ्क्षत्वात्, ¹²किमर्थः शास्त्रारम्भ इत्याशङ्क्याह—

¹³प्र सि द्ध मि ति । अबुद्धिभिर्बुद्धिहीनैः प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातं ¹⁴सन्तं

1. HILB एको वर्णः.

2. A¹ adds च.

3. H मत ज्ञाने.

4. A¹A² °स्तथैव परिभाषया.

5. B adds च.

6. A¹ °न्यदप्यनुक्तमत्र ।

7. A¹ सेवे A² omits इति ।

8. HLA² omit तत् पाणिनि° ... जानीयात्.

9. B इति for इत्यादि.

10. A² समानमित्यर्थः.

11. A² भाष्यकाराः.

12. HL तेष्वर्था इति.

13. A¹ परस्य निराकाङ्क्षत्वात्.

14. HLA¹ किमर्थं(?)

15. BA¹ quote the entire sloka 2.

16. A¹A² सन्तं for सन्तं.

०चिपटिद्यतुःपटिर्वा वर्णाः सग्नवतो मताः ।

प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयंभुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता छष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

पुनः पयाद् व्यक्तीकरिणामि स्फुटीकरिणामि । किम् ? याच उचारणे विधिम्, याचो 'गिरम्नः उचारणे' उद्दिश्य विधिं विधानम् । ननु विधिरत्यन्तमप्राप्तो इति श्रयन्ते, न चात्रात्यन्तमप्राप्तिः ; उक्तं च पधस्तात्—पकारादयो वर्णाः स्वम्यानेनेयोशायन्ते इति । उच्यते, यद्यपि स्वम्यान्त्यता उच्यन्ते तथाप्यप्राप्तोऽङ्गः कथनीयोऽतोऽनु-
'प्रदानादिः, एतदर्थो' विधिगणः ॥२॥

यागुचारणं 'यर्षः क्रियते, कतिमंग्याप्तो इत्यत आह—

वि प टि य तुः प टि र् यं ति । मग्नवत इति मग्नूतेः सकागामताः जाताः । यर्षो वृणोतेः । अत्र 'ययोक्तं लोकादेदयोः' इत्युक्तम् । तत्र किं लोके संस्कृत-
विषया एव वर्णा उक्तं सर्वभाषाविषया इत्याह—प्राकृते संस्कृते चापीति । अपि-
गन्दादपभ्रंगादिष्वपि ये वर्णाः मग्नूतेर्जाताः भन्ताः तेष्वपि । स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वय-
भुवेति । प्राप्ताया 'स्वयमेवादरेण प्रकर्षेणोच्चारिताः ॥३॥

कथं ते' विपटिः कथं वा 'वतुःपटिरित्यागद्वयाह—

स्वरा विंशतिरेकयेति । स्वरा इति 'स्मृ गन्दीपतापयोः' श्रयन्ते
गण्यतेऽनेन व्यञ्जनमिति करणेऽच्प्रत्ययः । कथं ते' एकविंशतिः ? "ततस्तुरो
स्वरान् मया यथाप्रसं यथास्मृति विहणोमि—अ इ उ ऋ एते चत्वारो ऋभ्रदीर्घभ्रुत-
भेदेन द्वादश । लृकारस्य दीर्घादयो न भन्तीति श्रमणात् ऋभ्र एयोपदिश्रयते, "भत एते
त्रयोदश । ए ऐ ओ औ मन्थचराणि, मन्थचराणामपि ऋभ्रा न भन्तीति श्रमणात्

1. A¹A² गिरसदुचारणे. 2. B om. उद्दिश्ये. 3. A¹ adds कथं
4. H "प्रदानादिति. 5. A¹ प्रदार्था शब्दो and A² प्रदार्था विधिगण for एतदर्थो विधिगण.
6. LA¹A² add च before this. 7. C दरेण for 'दरेण
8. L omits ३. 9. B चतु पटिः स्फुटित्वा. 10. B omits ३.
11. A¹A² omit this word, before this I तत शराप्रया. 12. A¹ न for भत.

दीर्घप्लुता एव गृह्यन्ते 'तत एतेऽष्टौ पूर्वैस्त्रयोदशभिः सहैकविंशतिः । स्य र्शा नां पञ्च-
विंशतिः । कादयो सावसानाः स्पर्शाः । जिह्वाभूलतालुमूर्धदन्तोष्ठादिभिः^१ परस्परं
स्पर्शैरभिनिष्पन्ना^२ आविर्भवन्तीति स्पर्शाः । 'पूर्वैकविंशत्या सह षट्चत्वारिंशत् ।
या द यश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टा वि ति । यकारादयश्च अष्टा—य र ल व श ष स हा
इति । 'अत्र आद्याश्चत्वारोऽन्तःस्थसंज्ञाः, उपरितना जप्ताः । 'पूर्वया षट्चत्वारिंशता
सह चतुःपञ्चाशत् । च त्वा रश्च य माः स्मृता इति । 'यच्छतीति यमः, स्वय-
मेवोपरमते^३ । के ते यमाः ? लोके कुं खं गुं घं इति । "अनन्त्यान्त्यसंयोगे
मध्ये यमः पूर्वगुणः" इत्यौदन्नजिः । ^{१०}तथा च—

^{११}ऋस्वादिभेदैश्चत्वारः प्रथमा द्वादश स्मृताः ।
लृकारो ऋस्व एवैचोऽष्टौ स्वरा एकविंशतिः ॥
पञ्चविंशतिरष्टाद्विः स्पर्शाः स्युर्यादयो यमाः ।
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क—पौ प्लुतलृकारकः ॥
त्रिषष्टिरेवं वर्णाः स्युर्ऋस्वदीर्घादिभेदतः । ^{१२}
अनुस्वारद्वयाद्वर्णाश्चतुःषष्टिरिति रिताः ॥

तथा च नारदः—

अनन्त्यश्च ^{१०}भवेत् पूर्वो अन्तिमः परतो यदि ।
तत्र मध्ये यमस्तिष्ठेत् सवर्णः पूर्ववर्णयोः ॥
वर्गान्यान् शषसैः सार्द्धमन्तःस्थैर्वाऽपि संयुतान् ।
दृष्ट्वा ^{१४}यमा निवर्तन्ते आदेशिकमिवाध्वगाः ॥ (ना. शि. २, २, ८-९)
इति ^{१५}नारदौदन्नज्योर्मतेन यमो वर्णागम इति ^{१६}विधीयते । ^{१७}अस्मात् शास्त्रात्

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. A ¹ A ² त एते. | 2. A ¹ omits °दिभिः. |
| 3. A ¹ A ² °निष्पल. | 4. A ² पूर्वं एक. |
| 6. H. पूर्वेः षट्चत्वारिंशदभिः ; I °चत्वारिंशता. | 7. CA ¹ यच्छन्तीति यमाः. |
| 8. °वोपरमेरन्, A ² °वोपरमत. परम लोके ते. | |
| 9. A ² °अनन्तमयोगे मध्ये यमः. | 10. HBIA ² omit तथा च. |
| 11. I A ² HLB omit this and the two following slokas. | 12. A ¹ °दिभेदतः. |
| 13. H ₂ भवेत् पूर्वो अन्तिमश्च, B ° × × त् पूर्वो अन्तिमश्च, I पूर्वो अन्तिमश्च, L पूर्वात्तिमश्च. | |
| A ¹ A ² पूर्वो अन्त्यश्च. | 14. A ¹ यमानुवर्तन्ते. |
| 15. IBH °व्रजिभ्यां सतेन, A ¹ °व्रजिभ्यां न. | 16. B omits विधीयते. |
| 17. B om. अस्मात्.....इति. | |

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क—पौ चापि पराश्रयौ ।

॥२॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः स्मृत एव च ॥५॥

‘चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः’ इति वर्णान्तरत्वेनोपदेशः संयोगशास्त्रात् । अथ चतुर-
क्षराणामुदाहरणमिति प्रकृत्य ‘अग्निरिति गकारो हो यमो नकार इकारश्चेति ।
अन्ये तु यमं वर्णापत्तिं मन्यन्ते । तथा च शौनकः—“स्पर्शा यमानननुनासिकाः
‘स्नान् परेषु स्पर्शेष्वनुनासिकेषु” (ऋ प्रा. १.६.८) इति । ‘पूर्वया चतुःपञ्चाशता
सहाष्टपञ्चाशत् ॥४॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्चेति । स्वरमनु भवतोऽनुस्वारः, [स्वरम्]
अनु ‘अकाराद्यनुगमनेनानुस्वारः । वक्ष्यति च ‘दन्तमूल्य. स्वराननु’ इति ।
विसर्ग इति । विविधं सृज्यते सिध्यते इति विसर्गः । × क—पौ चापि
‘पराश्रयाविति । पराश्रयाविति परो ककारपकारौ आश्रयस्थानं ययोस्ती
पराश्रयौ । तथा च वक्ष्यति—“अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः” इति ।

अपरः पाठः—× क—पावपि^१ परौ स्मृतौ । अनुस्वारविसर्गयोः परावित्यर्थः ।
‘अपरोऽपि पाठः—× क—पौ वापि कपाश्रयौ । ककारपकारौ आश्रयः स्थानं ययोस्ती
कपाश्रयो । चशब्दादनुस्वारविसर्जनीयावपि पराश्रयो । दुःस्पृष्टश्चेतीति
दुःस्पृष्ट ईपत्स्,ष्टो वर्णधर्मो न वर्णान्तरम् । वक्ष्यति च—‘अचोऽस्पृष्टा
यणस्वीयत्’ इति । तथा चोद्वज्जिः—“तत्र स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम्,” ‘दुःस्पृष्टमन्तः-
स्थानाम्’ इति । यणभक्तिश्च ‘लृकारो विद्यते । अतो लृकारो दुःस्पृष्टधर्मा
चशब्दात् ऋकारः । इतिशब्दः पादपूरणार्थः । लृकार इति । लृवर्णात्

1. B₂ अग्निरिति गकारो हो, A¹ I अग्निरिति यमौ गकारनकाराविति, A² अग्निभ(१)रिति न
यम नकार ककाराविति, C अग्निरिति यमो गकारो हो नकार.

2. B. स्नानुपरेषु, H स्न परेषु, L स्नापरेषु, A¹ स्नात् परेषु I स्वर्यात्.

3. BA² पूर्व चतुःपञ्चाशत् सहा^० IH पूर्वयत्.पञ्चाशदभिः सह,

4. A¹A²B अकारानुग^०, IHL अकाराग^०, A³ अकारानुगमनात्^०,

5. B पराश्रितौ

6 B ° पाविति

7. B omits अपरोऽपि पाठः

8. IB omit तच्च, IHLA² करण for प्रयतन A adds करण after प्रयतन.

9 BHL यकारो भिद्यते, IL have in the margin यण भक्तिश्च लृकारो विद्यते यणकरणक इत्यर्थः,
B यण भक्ति च भक्तिश्च लृकारो विद्यते यणकरणक इत्यर्थः.

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थार्थान्मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥३॥ सनः कायाग्निसाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥

कारप्रत्ययः । म्रु त ए वे ति । लृकारस्य दीर्घादयो न सन्तीत्यधस्तात् पर-
मतसुपन्यस्तम्, स्वमतं चाह—लृकारः म्रुत एव च इति त्रिमात्रः चशब्दाद् ऋस्त्वम् ।
ननु वर्णानां प्रयत्नसुपरिष्ठाद्व्यत्येव, किमर्थमप्रस्तुतः प्रयत्नः कथ्यते ? उच्यते, म्रुत-
विधानार्थं तावत् लृकार उच्चारयितव्यः उच्चारिते च लृकारे लाघवार्थमप्रस्तुतोऽपि^१
प्रयत्न उच्चारितः दुःस्पर्ष्टश्चेति । अनुस्वारादयः म्रुतान्ताः पञ्च । ^२पूर्व्याऽष्टपञ्चा-
शता सह त्रिषष्टिः । चतुःषष्टिः कथम् ? ^३अनुस्वारौ विसर्गश्चेति पाठान्तरात् ।
कथं पुनरनुस्वारद्वयम् ? ऋस्दीर्घभेदेनेति ब्रूमः । तथा चौद्वर्जिः—“अनुस्वारावं
आं इत्यनुस्वारौ ‘ऋस्वादीर्घौ दीर्घाङ्स्वौ वर्णौ’ इति । अत एव चतुःषष्टिः ॥५॥

अथ वर्णसंख्यापरिज्ञानोत्तरकालं चिन्त्यते क एषासुच्चारयिता, कथं
चोच्चारयति, केन क्रमेण चेत्याह—

आत्मे ति । आत्मा शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्तः । कथं पुनरेतदवगम्यते
यथा शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा ? उच्यते—“द्रष्टृत्वात्, द्रष्टा हि दृष्ट्याद्
व्यतिरिक्तो भवति, प्रयोजकत्वात् । ‘बुद्ध्यादीनि कर्तृप्रयोज्यानि, करणत्वात्,
कुठारवत्’ इति न्यायात्, श्रुतेश्च । न्यायस्तावत्, ‘अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः’
इति स्वर्गादिफलसाधनानि कर्माणि श्रूयन्ते । स्वर्गश्च ‘नवशरीरोपभोग्यः, तद्व्यतिरिक्त
आत्मा शरीरादेः । श्रुतेश्च, “तस्य ह्येतस्य हृदयस्याग्रं प्रद्योतते तेन प्रद्योतेनैष आत्मा
निष्क्रामति चक्षुषो वा मूर्ध्नी वाऽन्येभ्यो वा शरीरदेशेभ्यः” (बृह. आ. ४.४.२)
इति । शरीरापक्रमणाच्च शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा । छान्दोग्यश्रुतेश्च “एवमेवैष
संप्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात्समुत्थाय परं ^४ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते”
(ऋ. १२. ३) इति । क एषासुच्चारयितेति पृष्टे तस्योत्तरं दत्तम्—आत्मेति ।
कथमुच्चारयति केन क्रमेणेति प्रश्नद्वयस्योत्तरं दीयते—स आत्मा बुद्ध्या सहार्थान्

1. A¹ omits °ऽपि.

2. IHLA¹A² पूर्वैरष्टपञ्चाशद्भिः, B पूर्वै-द्रष्टा.

3. B अनुस्वारौ विसर्गः.

4. BL ऋस्वादीर्घौ दीर्घाङ्स्वौ, LA¹A² ऋस्दीर्घौ

(चौ) दीर्घाङ्स्वौ (स्वौ), I ऋस्दीर्घौ दीर्घाङ्स्व इति.

5. A¹I omits द्रष्टृत्वात् ... इति न्यायात्, A² omits द्रष्टृत्वात् ... कुठारवत्, HL put
इति before द्रष्टृत्वात्.

6. A¹A² वायुशरीरोप°, B नवशरीरोपभोग्यः.

7. HLL शरीरादिः.

8. B ज्योतिरूप°.

मासुतान्मूरसि चरन्मन्त्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

॥१॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं वन्द्यो गायतमाश्रितम् ॥७॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं वैष्टुभानुगम् ।

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षेण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

वाद्यान् समर्प्य मन्त्रं चरन्मन्त्रं चरन्मन्त्राय यदि मन्त्र उच्चार्यते तदा
मनो युद्धे विषयया 'वदुमिच्छा विषया तथा । तथ मनो नियुद्धे चाप्या ।
म नः का या नि मा ह नो ति । तथ मनो नियुद्धे मन्त्रं चाप्यानिमाहन्ति
काप्यानि शरीराग्निं चापिमुग्धेन हन्ति । म प्रेरयति मा ह त मि ति ।
मोऽग्निरभिहतः मन्त्रं माहृतं वायुं प्रेरयति ॥१॥

मा ह त म्पू र नि च र म्पू र्ज न य ति स्वर मि ति । माहृतो वायु-
रनि 'चरन्मन्त्रं स्वरम् उत्पादयति । मन्त्रमिति मन्त्रे रक्प्रत्ययः । प्रा तः स व न-
यो ग मि ति । प्रातः सवनेन सह योगोऽप्येति प्रातःसवनयोगस्तम् । 'तथा च
प्रेतस्यग्राहणे 'पथ मन्त्रं तपति तस्मात् मन्त्रया वाचा प्रातःसवने श्रमेत्'
(१४.१) इति । 'गायतं गायतेः' श्रुतिरुभयः ; चाच्छादयति इत्युक्तः ॥७॥

क ण्ठ इति । माहृत इति 'चतुर्वर्ते, सवने इत्युक्तः स्वरं चरयति च ।
वर्षान् जनयतीति यावत् । कण्ठे चरन् वायुर्मध्यमं स्वरं जनयति । कण्ठे इति
'कपिष्ठः' (उ. सू. १.०.४) इति ठप्रत्ययः । मध्यं दिने युगमिति 'माध्यन्दिनं
सवनमात्रं द्विदृष्टन्दोऽनुगामिनम् । तार मि ति । तार्तीयसवनमिति द्वितीय-
सवनमात्रं तारं स्वरं शीर्षेण्यमिति मूर्धनि चरन् वायुं जनयत्युत्पादयति जागतं
छन्दोऽनुगामिनम् । जागतं छन्दोऽनुगच्छतीति जागतानुगः । शीर्षेण्यमिति
'शीर्षेण्यमिति' (पा. ६.१.६०) इति श्रितः शब्दस्य शीर्षभावाः । तत्र भवं
शीर्षेण्यम् ॥८॥

1. L omits वदुमिच्छा विषया तथा तथ, BH वदुमिच्छया only.

2. A¹ चटम् for चरम्.

3. BHLJA² तथा च सुवचः मन्त्रया वाचा श्रातःसवनमिति.

4. B has before this चाप्यानिमाहन्ति 'चाप्यादयति'.

5. BHL omits श्रुतिरुभयः and has चाच्छादयति इत्युक्तः for चाच्छादयति इत्युक्तः.

6. BHLJA² omits 'चतुर्वर्ते'.

7. A² L² माध्यन्दिनं सवनमात्रं.

सोदीर्णं मूर्ध्नि^१ अभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

सो दी र्ण इति । स वायुर्दीर्णं ऊर्ध्वगतो मूर्ध्नि^१ यावदुपरितनां गतिम्
अलभमानः शिरः-कपालेनावष्टब्धत्वात् पुनः प्रत्यावृत्य 'वक्त्रमेवापद्य वर्णाञ्जनयते
उत्पादयति । पुनर्मारुतग्रहणं विस्मयार्थम् । तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृत इति ।
तेषां वर्णानां जन्यमानानां विभागो विवेकः पञ्चधा पञ्चप्रकारः । 'संख्याया
विधार्थे धा' (पा. ५.३.४२) इति धा । 'स्मृतोऽनुगतः ॥६॥

कैर्हेतुभिस्तेषां वर्णानां पञ्चधा विवेक इत्याह—

स्वरतः इति । स्वस्थाने हेतून् व्याख्यास्यामः । 'वर्णानां ज्ञातार एवमाहुः—
पञ्चधा विवेको वर्णानाम् इति । 'स्वरतः उदात्तादिभेदेन । कालो ह्रस्वादिः ।
स्थानं कण्ठादि । प्रयत्नो द्विधा (!) । अनुप्रदानं स्वस्थानादिकं घोषादि । अनु
प्रकर्षेण दीयते इत्यनुप्रदानम् । 'ह्री नाद[श्वासाव]नुप्रदानौ' इत्यौदव्रजिः ।
पञ्चधा विवेकं वर्णानां निपुणमुच्यमानं हे श्रोतारः, निबोधत शृणुत ॥

अत्र किञ्चिदुच्यते बालव्युत्पत्यर्थम् । ननु सर्वमेवैतदनुपपन्नम् । कथम् ?
आत्मा बुद्ध्या सह अर्थान् समर्थं मनो युङ्क्त इति व्याख्यातम् । आत्मनश्च
नियोजकभावो नोपपद्यते अकर्तृरूपत्वात् तस्य । तथा च श्रुतिः—'असङ्गो
ह्ययं पुरुषः' (बृह. आ. ४.३.१५) इति, 'अस्थूलमनण्वरुस्त्रिमदीर्घम्'^६ (बृह. आ.
३.८.८) इत्यादिका च । भवता चैवमात्मस्वरूपं व्याख्यातम् । आत्मनश्च
नियोजकभावे शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्त इति शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा मनो

1. HL वक्त्रमेवापद्य ; B. °पद्य जनयति.

2. A¹ स्मृतोऽनुमतः.

3. A¹ omits पञ्चधा...इत्याह.

4. BI इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत before this. H. puts. निबोधत before this.

5. BHL omit स्वरत उदात्तादि°.....इत्यौदव्रजिः.

6. IA¹C omit °दीर्घ°.

युङ्क्ते इत्यनुपपन्नम् । उच्यते, चयमात्मा समर्थार्यात्मनो युङ्क्ते इत्येतत् चैवशाभि-
प्रायम् । चैवशस्यै-तदेव स्वरूपं यन्मियोजकत्वम् । तथा च मनुः[संहितायां]—

“योऽस्यात्मनः कारयिता तं चैवशं प्रचक्षते ।
यः करोति तु कर्माणि स भूतात्मोप्यते बुधैः ॥
जीवसंश्लोक्तारात्मान्यः सद्यजः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
येन वेदयते सर्वं सुखं दुःखं च जन्मसु ॥
तामुभो भूतसंप्रतौ मद्भान् चैवश एव च ।
उद्यापचेषु भूतेषु स्थितं तं व्याप्य तिष्ठतः” ॥ (१२.१२-१४) इति ।

तं व्याप्येति परमात्मानमाधुः । तथा च व्यासः [श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां]—

“ह्यविमो पुरुषो लोके चरयाचर एव च ।
चरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽचर उच्यते ॥
उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मैत्युदाहृतः ।
यो लोकावयमाविग्र्य विमर्त्यय ईश्वरः” ॥ (१५, १६-१७)

ननु यद्यात्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थार्यान् इत्युदाहृतो यो नित्यः चैवश एवात्माऽभि-
प्रेतो भवेत् ततः चैवशे एव आत्मगर्ह्यचरितार्थत्वात् शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यति-
रिक्तत्वं कतरघाच्छब्दात् त्वया वर्णितं, किमयं च ? उच्यते, आत्मा बुद्धेत्यत्र
ह्यवयवात्मनो तो चैवशपरमात्माभिधेयरूपायभिप्रेतो तन्वेषोच्चारितो ।
तन्वेषोच्चारणं सूत्राणामलङ्कारः । एवं चेत् किमर्थं परमात्मनो वर्णनिमित्तत्वम्
उक्तम् ? तत्रोच्यते, अपवर्गमाधनोपकारत्वाच्चिन्नायाः । अपवर्गस्य चायमेवोपायः
शरीरादिध्यतिरिक्तस्य परमात्मनो बोधः । “अनवबोधस्य तु बुद्ध्यादिभिरेकं
भवति । किं तदपवर्गसाधनं यस्य गिचोपकारे वर्तते ? उच्यते, वेदा यन्नाय ।
तथा च श्रुतिः—“तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन विविदिपन्ति ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा यज्ञया
यज्ञेनानाश्रमेन च” (बृह. भा. ४.४.२२) इति । वेदानुवचनं यज्ञगतमन्वाहत्वात्
सम्यग्वर्णोच्चारणेन यस्यात्मोचमाप्नोति । वक्ष्यति च—“अतुलं च सुखं समश्रुते”
इति । अतुलं सुखं मोक्ष एव भवति ॥१०॥

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋस्रो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥९॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१२॥

अलमतिप्रसङ्गेन । प्रकृतमनुसरामः—

उ दा त्त श्चा नु दा त्त श्चे ति । स्वरतः कालत इत्येती द्वौ हेतू श्लोके विवृणोति-
स्वर उदात्तादिः । कालो मात्राप्रभृतिविमात्रपर्यन्तः । उदात्त इत्युपरिष्ठात्
परिगृहीतः, अनुदात्तस्तद्विपरीतः, अधस्ताद् गृहीत इत्यर्थः । स्वरित इति
न स्वरान्तरम् । स्वरतीति स्वरितः आक्षेपनिषाद्यः य उदात्तानुदात्तविकारः ।
तथा च नारदः—

“उच्चादुच्चतरं नास्ति नीचानीचतरं तथा ।

तैस्वर्ये स्वारसंज्ञायां किंस्थानः^२ स्वार उच्यते ॥

उच्चनीचस्थयोर्मध्ये साधारण इति श्रुतिः ।

तं स्वारं स्वारसंज्ञायां प्रतिजानन्ति शैचिकाः” ॥ (ना. शि. १.८.६-७)

स्व रा स्त्र य इति । त्रय एव ऋग्यजुर्विषयाः^३; पञ्च सप्त च सामसु । ऋस्व
एकमात्रो दीर्घो द्विमात्रः, प्लुतस्त्रिमात्रः । “निमेषकाला मात्रा स्यात्”
इत्यौदव्रजिः, तथा च नारदः—

“निमेषकाला मात्रा स्याद्विद्युत्कालेति चापरे” (ना. शि. २.३.८) इति ।

इतिशब्दः प्रकारार्थः । अनेन प्रकारेण कालतः हेतोः स्वरतश्च विषयभाग-
नियमः । तथा च नारदः—

“स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च ।

व्यञ्जनान्यनुवर्तन्ते^४ यत्र तिष्ठन्ति स स्वरः ॥” (ना. शि. २.५.२) इति ॥११॥

1. B omits न.

2. A¹C स्वर ।

3. A² read षट् after पञ्च.

4. B. puts stops after विषयाः and सामसु.

5. A¹C °न्यत्र वर्तन्ते.

कण्ठावहायिचुयशास्तानव्या षोष्ठजावुपू ।

॥११॥ म्युर्मूर्धन्या षट्ठुरया दन्त्या नृतुनमाः स्मृताः ॥१३॥

जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रीहो दन्त्योष्ठो यः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥१२॥ एते तु कण्ठतानव्या षोष्ठी कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृता ॥१४॥

अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठाम्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥१३॥ ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विहृतमंष्टतम् ॥१५॥

म्यान इति यदुः तदाह—

कण्ठावहायि इति । 'कण्ठावहायि' यकारद्वारा कण्ठो कण्ठो जातो ।
५ बु य माः तानव्याः 'दन्तरय' अर्धमं यकारद्वारा य एते तानव्याः तानुमाने
भवाः । ५ इन्द्रजागृदयो यर्गं प्रापयति । यर्गोदायन्यादि कुपुदुतुपु इत्येव-
मादिषु उकारः 'वृद्धवर्णपरिपद्यार्थः' । तथा य पाणिनिः—'वर्णद्वित् मयर्गस्य
चामन्यः' (पा. १.१.८) इति । षोष्ठमजिरवि "'वर्गं तर्ग्य, वर्गपद्वे
च ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य पद्वे' 'म्यानैवित्यधिरारः' इति । षोष्ठजावुपू उकारः
अर्धमं षोष्ठ्योर्जातो । म्युर्मूर्धन्या षट्ठुरया इति । षट्ठुरः अर्धमं
रेफवहारी च मूर्धन्या भवेयुः । दन्त्या षट्ठु म मा इति । षट्ठुरावर्धमं
मशरमशरो च दन्तोपु भवाः ॥१३॥

जिह्वामूले इति । कर्णमंजु जिह्वामूले कथितः । दन्त्योष्ठो यः स्मृतो
बुधै रिति । यकारो 'दन्तोष्ठयोर्भवेताति पण्डितैः अर्थने । एते तु कण्ठ-
तानव्या इति । एकार यकारय कण्ठतानुतो जातो । षोष्ठी कण्ठोष्ठौ
स्मृताविति । 'षोकारः षोकारय कण्ठोष्ठयोर्जातो ॥१४॥

1. A¹ omits 2. A¹ omits 3. A¹A² इकार; C चरपी.

4. BLa² omits दन्तरयपरिपद्यार्थः.

5. MBS, ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य पद्वेपद्वे च ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य पद्वे... कार इति ।

6. L म्यानैवित्यधिरारः, A¹ म्यानैवित्यधिरारः.

7. B. omits इववहारी.....इति । मशर. 8. A¹ भार.

9. BHL दन्त्यः (BHL दन्त्यः) षोष्ठीयो च षोष्ठी भवेति. A¹ दन्त्योष्ठो.

10. H षोकारय, C षोकारपी.

अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिका स्थानमुच्यते ।

॥१४॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वाभूलीयनासिके
अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभाजिनः ॥१६॥

॥१५॥ अलावुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु ।
अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं क्लोः शषसेषु च ॥१७॥

अ द्वे मा त्रा इति । अर्द्धमात्रा तु ^१कण्ठस्य भवति । कयोः ? ^२एकारस्य
ओकारस्य च । सत्रर्णग्राहकत्वात् ^३एकारश्च ओकारश्च द्वावपि गृह्येते ।
अतश्चतुर्णामपि सन्ध्यक्षराणामर्द्धमात्रा ^४कण्ठसंबन्धिनी भवेत् । ^५अर्धार्द्धास्तात्त्वोठ-
स्थानाः ॥१५॥

अ यो गे ति । अयोगवाहा इत्यनुस्वारादयश्चत्वार उच्यन्ते । अनुस्वारो
विसर्गश्च × क × पौ च कण्ठगौ । तथा च औद्वजिः — ‘अयोगवाहाः, अः इति
विसर्जनौयः, × क इति जिह्वाभूलीयः, × प इत्युपध्मानीयः’ ‘अं इत्यनुस्वारः
नासिक्यः, इत्ययोगवाहाः । न विद्यते योगः संयोगो वर्णान्तरिणं येषां ते
अयोगवाहाः । ^६आश्रयस्थानभाजिन इति । ^७आश्रयस्य ककारादेः स्थानं भाजितुं
शीलं येषां ते आश्रयस्थानभाजिनः । अन्ये तु यस्मानप्ययोगवाहान्मन्यन्ते । तेषां
मतेन अयोगवाहशब्दः प्रत्यस्तमितावयवो रूढिशब्दोऽश्वकर्णवद्देदितव्यः ।
अनुस्वारस्य स्वरूपमाह—अनुस्वारस्य प्रकृतिः पाणिनिनैव कथिता “मोऽनुस्वारः”
(पा. ८. ३. २३) इति ॥१६॥

अ ला द्वि ति । अलावुस्तुब्बी, ^{१०}तस्या वीणाया इव निर्घोषः शब्दो यस्य
सोऽलावुवीणानिर्घोषः । स्थानं दन्तमूलं तत्र भवो ^{११}दन्तमूल्यः । स्वरान्

1. H. कण्ठास्वेकारौकारयोर्भवेत् अर्धमात्रा कण्ठस्य भवति । कयोः,

2. CA¹ एकारस्यौकारस्य । A³ एकारस्य ओकारस्य ।

3. A² एकार ओकारश्च । B. श^० ओकारश्च ।

4. A² कण्ठ A³ omits.

5. H अर्धां तात्त्वो, B °र्धां तात्त्वो I अर्धार्धं तु स्त्रे स्त्रे स्थाने.

6. I A³ अं इत्यनुस्वारोऽनुनासिकः । A² अनुस्वारः नासिक्यः.

7. HLB put सह after this.

8. A² °भाजिन.

9. A² omits आश्रयस्य भाजिनः.

10. L अलावुयुक्तवीणाया and H अलावु तु वीणाया A¹ यस्याऽसावलावुवीणाया for तस्या वीणाया.

11. A³ L दन्तमूल्यः.

॥16॥ अचोऽसृष्टा यणस्त्वोपन्नेमसृष्टाः शरस्तथा ।

शेषा सृष्टा हनः प्रोक्ता नियोधानुप्रदानतः ॥१८॥

॥17॥ अमोऽनुनामिकानशौ नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृताः ।

ईपन्नादा यण्जगन्तु श्वामिनन्तु खप्तादयः

अकारादोन् चतु मयतीति शेषः । हकाररेफयोः शयमेव' च मदा मयति । तथा च नारदः—

“पापघने मकारो रिकोऽसृष्टः प्रत्ययेचतुष्टयम् ।

यश्चेत्तु परमवर्णं स्पर्शं चोत्तमावर्तिम्” (भा. गि. २.४.४) इति ॥१०॥

पटौ स्यान्नामि वर्षाणामुक्तः कण्ठः गिरस्तथा । जिह्वामूर्ध्वं च दन्ताय नामिकोष्ठौ च तालु च” इति । इमं श्लोकमनुयादयः केषित् पठन्ति ॥

स्वरतः कान्तः स्यान्नतो वर्षाणां भेदः कथितोऽप्युक्ता प्रपद्यतो भेदः कथ्यते । प्र क र्णं च ययो वर्षाणाम् प्रति अमृष्टादिभिः स प्रपद्यः ।

अ जि ति । अजिति प्रत्याहारपक्षम् । अ इ उ ऋ ए ओ ऐ औ 'ए एते अमृष्टाः । यणः य म र ना णे ईयत्सृष्टाः । 'ग रि ति प्रत्याहारपक्षम्, ययमा एते नेममृष्टाः 'अहमृष्टा इत्यर्थः तथेति पादगुरवार्यः । शेषाः सृष्टा हनः प्रोक्ता इति । हन् इति प्रत्याहारपक्षं हकारादारभ्य वा मकारात् । शेष इत्युक्तादयः शेषः । यणः शरय ईपयेममृष्टास्तद्वर्जिताः हनः सृष्टाः, प्रत्ययैः कथिताः । नि यो धा नु प्र दा न त इति । अनुप्रदानमिति प्रत्यानादिकं घोष'दि चतु प्रकृर्वेण दीयते इति अनुप्रदानम् । “दो नाद-[आमाव]नु-प्रदानो” इत्यौदन्नजिः । अनुप्रदानतो ह्येतोः' वर्षाणां भेदे नृणु ॥१८॥

अ मि ति प्रत्याहारपक्षं अ म ङ ण न म् । अनुनामिका इति प्रत्यानैरधिकाः 'चतु पाठात् नामिकामनुमयतीति अनुनामिका अमङ्गणमः

1. A¹A² omit.

2. A¹ प्रत्ययैःचतुः.

3. BBI, read after this 'अचो' च भराणां च वरितं करवं कृतम् । शिथोऽपि (ततोऽपि विश्वविहो ताभ्यामिहो नयेव च ; स्पष्ट only in II).

4. HI, omit च.

5. H omits अजिति,.....नेममृष्टाः.

6. I, अये सृष्टा.

7. A¹A² omit up to इत्यौदन्नजि MSS. दो नादानुप्रदानो. (I °प्रदानम्).

8. B omits ह्येतोः.

9. A¹O अनुपाठाः.

॥१८॥ ईषच्छासांश्चरो विद्याद्गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥१९॥

अनुनासिकानिमान् जानीयात् । तथा च पाणिनिः—‘मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः’ (पा. १.१.८) इति । अ झौ इति । अकारो रेफश्च हकारो भषश्च, प्रत्याहारग्रहणं भष् इति भ भ घ ढ ध ष्, एते ज्ञादयो नादिनः स्मर्यन्ते । नाद एषामस्तीति नादिनः । अपरः पाठः—अ सो ऽनु ना सि का न झौ । अम् इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् । अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ओ ऐ औ ह य व र ल ज म ङ ण न म् एते अनुनासिकाः । न झौ न तु रेफहकारौ अमावपि सन्तौ । नादिनो ह भ षः स्मृताः । हकारो भषश्च नादिनः भष् भ भ घ ढ ध ष् । अस्यार्थः,^१ पाठद्वयात् अमां ‘हकाररेफवर्जितानां विकल्पेनानुनासिकत्वम्, जमां तु नित्यम् । तथा च शौनकः—“सचादयो या विहिता विवृत्तयः सुतोपधान्ता अनुनासिकोपधाः” (ऋ. प्रा. २.३२) इति । तथा “उकारश्चेति करणे युक्तो रक्तः पृक्तो द्राघितः शाकलेन” (ऋ. प्रा. १.२८) इति । अकाररेफयोः प्रथमे पाठे नादित्वम्, द्वितीये पाठे हकाररेफयोर्नासिकत्वप्रतिषेधः । ई ष न्ना दा य ण् ज श स्त्रि ति । यणः कथिताः । जशस्तु जकाराद्याः शकारेण प्रत्याहारः ज व ग ङ द श् एते यण् जशश्च ईषक्षणाक् नादाः । श्वा सि न खु ख फा द य इति । खफळ्ठयाः एते श्वासिनः श्वास एषामस्तीति श्वासिनः । “श्वासोऽघोषाणां [द्वि]तीयप्रथमानाम्, [नादो] घोषाणां चतुर्थ-[द्वितीया]नाम्, युग्मा सोष्माणः”, इति चौद्व्रजिः ॥१९॥

ई ष च्छा सांश्चरो विद्यादिति । चर् इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं च ट त क प श ष स र् ‘इत्येतन्नामकान् ईषच्छासान् जानीयात् । गोर्धामैतत्प्रचक्षते इति । गोर्वाचः धाम स्थानम् एतच्छास्त्रमाचक्षते वर्णविदः शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यमिति य उक्ताः ॥२०॥

1. A² अस्यार्थः.

2. HB omit कार after ह

3. IHB श्वासी घोषाणां द्वितीयात् । प्रथमानाम् (°नासुभावघोष°, A²) घोषश्चतुर्थानाम् । युग्माः ; IH. °चतुर्थानायुग्मा सोष्माण इति.

4. A¹C ऐतन्नाम°.

*मन्तो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा

मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वच्चो यजमानं हिनस्ति

यद्येन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥२०॥

*गद्गरः गाद्वरो प्रादादाचीपुत्राय धीमते ।

वाङ्मयेभ्यः समाहृत्य देवा वाचमिति स्थितिः ॥२१॥

येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।

कृतृत्वं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥२२॥

‘अथ मन्त्र-व्यत्यामनक्षणमाह—

मन्त्रः मननामन्त्रः स्वरतः उदात्तादिभेदतः वर्णतः विपटिरित्वादिभेदतः मिथ्याप्रयुक्तः यः स्वरतो यो वर्णस्तमघ्नात्वेयं प्रयुक्तः न तमर्थमाह तस्यार्थं न घेद । स ईदृशो मन्त्रो वायूपो यजमनो यजमानं हिनस्ति । तत्र दृष्टान्तमाह—यथा स्वरतोऽपराधाद् इन्द्र एव^१ शत्रुहन्ताऽभूदिति ॥२०॥

इदानीं गुरुपूर्वक्रममाह—

गद्गर इति । गद्गरः ‘गं सुखं करोतीति शंकरः सुप्रकरः शांकरिं सुप्रकरिं विद्यां दाचीपुत्राय ऋषये दाक्षोनाम्नो ऋषिकन्या तत्पुत्राय धीमते बुद्धिमते प्रादादत्तवान् ॥२१॥

सम्प्रति पाणिनिस्तुतिपरं श्लोकमाह—

ये नेति । मन्त्रप्रकृतं स्तुतिपूर्वकं पाणिनेर्नमस्कारकरणे किमर्थम् ? उच्यते, अचोऽस्मृष्टा यण्स्त्वोपदिति प्रत्याहारैः शिष्टा ग्रथिता प्रत्याहाराय पाणिनिना शंकरादधिगम्य कृतृत्वं समग्रं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं शिष्योपकाराय स्वप्रत्याहारा लोके प्रवर्तिताः तदर्थं स्तुतिः । अक्षरसमाम्नायमिति प्रत्याहारानाहुः, ऋष्वन्यत् ॥२२॥

1. IHLB omit अथ मन्त्रव्यत्यामशत्रुहन्ताऽभूदिति, A¹ omits अथ मन्त्रव्यत्याम, etc. but puts it after बुद्धिमते प्रादात्.

2. A¹ omits एव.

3. ILL omit गं सुखं ..गद्गरः.

*विनयनमुखनिःसृताभिमां

य इह पठेत् प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति धनधान्यपशुकीर्ति-

मानतुलं सुखमश्नुतेऽमुल ॥२३॥

^१भगवतः शिक्षायाश्च साक्षात् स्तुतिपरं श्लोकमाह—

वि न य ने ति । वैतालीयं कृन्दोऽस्य, अन्येषामनुष्टुप् कृन्दोऽस्ति । ^२विनयनः शिवस्तस्य मुखान्निःसृता यथा गुहायाः सिंहो निष्क्रामति तथा निःसृता एतावता विनयनेनापि न कृतेत्यर्थः । तां यो द्विजः पठेदधीयोत स [इह] धनादिभिर्युज्यते सुखमतुलं ^३परमानन्दं च मोक्षम् उक्तप्रकारेण अश्नुते प्राप्नोति ^४अमुन्नामुष्मिन् लोके । [आदौ] धनधान्यपशुकीर्तिभाग् भवत्यन्ते सुक्तिभाक् । अन्यदवान्तरफलानि स्वर्गादीनि परिमितकालत्वात् तोलयितुं ^५शक्यन्ते, मोक्षाख्यं तु अपरिमित-कालावच्छिन्नं सुखरूपमित्यर्थः ॥२३॥

^६इति वेदाङ्गशिक्षा-पञ्जिका समाप्ता ।

1. BH omit भगवतः शिक्षायाश्च.

2. B विनयनमुखनिःसृता and H विनयनमुखान्निःसृता for विनयनः...निःसृता.

3. A¹C परमानन्द-लक्षण^०.

4. BMA. अन्यवा^०; IHL omit अन्यवासुष्मिन्...फलानि.

5. A^१ शक्यानि । मोक्षस्तु परिमितकालावच्छिन्नपरमानन्दसुखरूपः सोऽध्ययनाद्यधीतात् सुलभ एवेति.

6. MBHL इति पाणिनीय-शिक्षा-व्याख्या समाप्ता । (B यादृ ' पुस्तकं दृष्टा ; तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥ श्लोकसंख्या १८८ ॥ समाप्तः) संवत् १८६५ दिवसे लिखितां L संवत् १८४३ धिंगलान्दे जेष्ठे द्वितीयायां श्रीकाश्यां दुग्धविनायक-सन्निधौ ब्रह्मोपनाम्ना गोविन्देन लिखितं । श्रीविश्वेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीः । A^१ after समाप्ता, पञ्जिका पदभञ्जिकेति विश्वप्रकाशे ॥ इदं पुस्तकं खनगणोपनाम्ना जीवरासभट्टात्मजव्येकटेशेन लिखितं स्वार्थं परार्थं च ॥ भं ॥ लिखकपाठकयोर्भूयात् । साम्बसदाशिवार्पणमस्तु ॥ संवत् १८२८ ज्येष्ठ शु १२ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ I इति शिक्षापञ्जिका समाप्ता &c. A^२ इति शिक्षायाः पञ्जिका समाप्ता । संवत् १८०० वर्ष आसुनी सुदी २ वार वीहैकौ लिखा ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥

IV. गिष्वाप्रकाश-महिता (With the Śikṣā-prakāśa)

* अथ गिष्वां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।

शास्त्रानुपूर्वं तद्वित्याद् यद्योक्तं नोक्तपेटयोः ॥१॥

ज्योतिष्योक्तरूपं एतद् कस्यगिष्वाप्रकाशः ।

नैवाप्य-पटोर्नः^१ कर्णा यच्च तं मतं नुमः ॥

प्याग्याय पिङ्गनाथार्यमुखाग्यादो यथायमम् ।

गिष्वा तदोयां प्याग्याप्ये पाणिनोयानुमारिणोम् ॥

ज्योत्स्नादिभिर्विहिते व्याकरणानुवृत्तान् भगवान् पिङ्गनाथार्यमन्ततमनुभाष्य^२
गिष्वां यत् प्रतिजानीते—

अथ गिष्वा मिति । वेदिकधर्मानुष्ठानात् पुरुषो निःश्रेयमार्यफलवान्
इत्येव वेदिकः मिहाराः । अतिगूढार्यस्य वेदनाग्राभाषानुष्ठानं मयो
वेदमार्गः । अतः मासात् कृतधर्मभिर्विदार्थेभ्यो निष्कृष्यार्यायिसुखबोधाय विद्या-
म्यानानि प्रवर्तितानि । तानि गिष्वा कस्यो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं एतद् ज्योतिषं
धर्मगात्रं पुराणं न्यायविस्तारो मौसमीमादीनि । तथा च याज्ञवल्करः
“पुराणन्यायमौसमीमा-धर्मगात्राद्विमिश्रितः । वेदाः म्यानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य
च चतुर्दश” इति । तथा हि “गिष्वा स्वर्यर्षिचारक शास्त्रम् । कस्यो
वेदविहितकर्मणाम् आनुपूर्व्येण कस्यनाशास्त्रम् । व्याकरणं मन्दबोधकम्
अग्नेच्छ्रुत्यकारकं शास्त्रम् । निरुक्तं पदविभाग-सम्भार्य-देवता निरूपणार्थं
शास्त्रम् । एतद् गायत्र्यादिच्छ्रुत्वा ज्ञानशास्त्रम् । [ज्योतिषं कालपरिगणनायं
शास्त्रम् । धर्मशास्त्रम् आचाराद्युपदेशकं शास्त्रम् ।] पुराणं स्थित्युत्पत्ति-
प्रलयदिशुचकं शास्त्रम् । न्यायविस्तारः प्रमाणैर्यपरोक्षाशास्त्रम् । मौसमी वेद-
वाक्यार्थविचारशास्त्रम् इति । तायच्छ्रुत्या यद्योदितस्वर्यर्षिचारणम् ।

* प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।

पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥

अज्ञाने प्रत्यवायस्मरणात् । यतः ‘मन्त्रो ह्येनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्या-
प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्जो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्र-
शत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात्’ इति । अत्यावश्यकज्ञातव्यत्वे बृहद्देवतायां श्रौतकः
“स्वरो वर्णोऽक्षरं मात्रा विनियोगार्थमेव^१ च । मन्त्रं जिज्ञासमानेन वेदितव्यं
पदे पदे” इति । अङ्गिनो नित्यत्वम् उत्सर्गतः सिद्धम् । ग्रन्थादौ मङ्गलाप्रयोगादथ-
शब्दो मङ्गलार्थ^२ आनन्तर्यार्थो वा । व्याकरणाध्ययनानन्तरं चतुर्भिर्वाचःपदैः
परा-पश्यन्ती-मध्यमा-वैखरी-संज्ञैरात्मनो वर्णोत्पत्तिज्ञापकं कियत्तदनुवादरूपं
^३ शिक्षाध्ययन]म् । शिक्ष्यतेऽनया बालेभ्यो ऋक्सौर्ध्वस्तुतोदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितोर-
कण्ठशिरोजिह्वामूलदन्तनासौष्ठस्थानानि यथा तां यथा पाणिनेरिदं “वृद्धि-
र्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्” इति (पा.१.१.७३) वृद्धसंज्ञाया “वृद्धाच्छः” (पा.४.२.११४)
तस्य “आयनेये” (पा.७.१.२) त्यादिनेयादेशः, पाणिनीयं मतं तथा प्रोच्चारयिष्यामि ।
न तु तन्मतं शास्त्रादिविरोधि भविष्यतीत्याह यथोक्तमिति । तद् यथा लोक-
वेदयोः शरीरकर्तृकश्रुत्योक्तं शास्त्रानुपूर्वं गुरुपरम्पराप्राप्तं जानीयात् । ‘शङ्करः
शाङ्करौ प्रादाद्’ इति तदुपरिष्ठाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । “य एव^४ लौकिकाः
‘शब्दास्त एव वैदिकास्त एव तेषामर्था’ इति, महाभाष्ये^५ । ‘एको वर्णः
सम्यग् ज्ञातः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति’ इति प्रयोजनम् । एतज्-
ज्ञानाभिलाषुका अधिकारिणः । व्याकरणे तु गोशब्दो गातेर्दो सन्तोऽत्र
जिह्वामूलकण्ठोष्ठजातो गोवर्ण इति विभेदाच्छिद्धारम्भ इति । अत्रानुष्टुप्-
छन्दसि विषमं चेत्यधिकृत्यावान्तरं वक्ताधिकारे पथ्यावह्नां श्लोकवृत्तम् । “पादस्या-
नुष्टुब्वृत्तम्”, (पि.५.८) । “न प्रथमात् स्त्री” (पि.५.१०) “वाऽन्यत्” (पि.५.१२)
“य चतुर्थीत्” (पि.५.१३) “पथ्या युजो ज” (पि.५.१४) । युग्म-पादस्य चतुर्थाद्वर्णा-
ज्जगणोऽवश्यं चेत् इति लक्षणात् । ‘उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावि’त्यत्र प्रथमो भुरिक्
अनुष्टुप्पादः । द्वितीयः खराट्^६ अनुष्टुप्पादः । उत्तरार्धं पूर्ववत् । “ऊनाधिके-
नैकेन निवृद्धभुरिजौ, द्वाभ्यां विराट्स्वराजौ” (पि.३.५.८.६०) इति लक्षणसूत्रात् ॥१॥

1. L °योगार्थमेव.

2. Be. मङ्गलार्थऽज्ञान°.

3. LBe. शिक्षाध्ययनं.

4. Be. यद्वत्.

5. L स एव for शब्दा स्त एव.

6. L वैदिकाः त एव.

7. L °भाष्यं.

8. Be. खण्डोऽनुष्टुप्पादः for खराट् अनुष्टुप्पादः.

० विपष्टिचतुःपष्टिर्वा षणाः सम्भवतो मताः ।

प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंगतिरिक्थ स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंगतिः ।

॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

सुबुद्धोनाम् पादियषोऽधारात् कण्ठादिम्यानप्रानं भविष्यति । किमर्थोऽयम् पारम्भ इत्याद्यन्नाह—प्र मि इ मि ति । पाणिन्यादिभिः प्रमिद्धोक्तम् अमां प्रत-
दग्निमिरविघातम् पथ्यत्नं व्यलीकरिष्यामि । याचो षर्णजातस्य उच्चारणे उदगिरणे
'विधिः विधानम् ; अत्यन्ताप्राप्तो विधिः, स चात्र प्रयत्नानुप्रदानादो ज्ञेयः ; तम् ॥२॥

[तत्रादौ] तावदुच्चारणादिज्ञानाय षर्णान् मंग्याति वि प टि रि ति । प्रकृतिः
संस्कृतं तत्र भयं तस्मिन् प्रा कृ ते गूरमेत्यादौ' सं स्कृ ते [यत्] प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादि-
विभागेः संस्कारमाणादित' तस्मिन् गोर्षाणवाणाम्, विभिरधिका पटिः अथवा
चतुर्भिरधिका पटिर्वर्णाः स्वयम्भुवा प्रोक्ताः प्रोदिताः स्यान्प्रयत्नानुप्रदानकान्तेः
सम्भवतः सम्भूतेराज्ञान[तः] मता ज्ञाताः ॥३॥

ताननुक्रमेण गणयन् दर्शयति स्वर इति । अथा स्वर इति' प्राचा
संज्ञा । 'स्वरतेः शब्दार्थस्य करणेऽच् । विंगतिः एकस्य । ते अकारकौरावि
उ ए ओ ऐ औ एते ऋवदोर्ध्वभूतमेदतः' "ऊकानोऽऽवदोर्ध्वभूतः (पा १.२.२०)"
इत्यनेन एकद्वित्रिमात्रा एव उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिता इति प्रत्येक विविधधर्मा-
मुपेयकाला ऋग्यकारयुक्ता एकविंगतिमंग्यापूरकाः, यथा अ१ आ२ आ३
इ१ ई२ ई३ उ१ ऊ२ ऊ३ ऋ१ ॠ२ ॠ३ एते चत्वारिगुणिताः दादग । एतु'
ऋवाभावाद् दोर्ध्वत्वं भूतत्वं [च,] यथा ए२ ए३ ओ२ ओ३ ऐ२ ऐ३ औ२ औ३ एते
षट्ठी" । ऋवर्णो न दोर्ध्व इति स्मरणात् ऋव एकः । अत्रोदात्तादिधर्मा
अथेय, उदात्तस्येतेन व्याख्यातः । "स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च ।
व्यञ्जनान्यनुवर्तन्ते यत्र तिष्ठति स स्वरः" (२. ५. २) इति नारदः । तत्रोदात्ते
विनिप्रोदन्ति सर्वेऽस्मिन् स्वरा इति निषादः, "नमा गन्धर्वो वायुर्नाभिः गोर्षगो

1 MSS. विधि 2 L. गूरमेत्यादौ. 3. Be. °दिने. 4. MSS. °पान्

5 Be om ts अथा शरा इति. 6 MSS. भवेत्. 7. Be. भदिता.

8 L. puts अ, ॠ१, ॠ३ after this 9. Be. अरा for एच. 10. L. एतेष्टौ.

11 MSS. उच्चमरो नीचमरः

12 MSS. नागा.

यस्य उच्चारणे अथवा यस्मिन् प्रगीते गावस्तुष्यन्तीति गान्धारः तौ । ¹अनुदात्ते नाम्नेः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतौ ऋषभवन्नर्दतीति ऋषभः, षडपि स्वरानतिक्रम्य सम्भूयते इति धैवतः तौ । एते वक्ष्यमाणा हि स्वरितोद्भवाः । [षड्भ्यो]नासाकण्ठोरस्तालु-जिह्वादन्तेभ्यो जातः षड्जः, नाभ्युरोहृत्कण्ठशिरोभ्यो जातः गणनया पञ्चमसङ्ख्या-पूरक इति वा पञ्चमः । ²हृदुरः समाश्रितो नाभिं प्राप्तः स ³मध्यमः ; ते उदात्ता-दिभ्य एव, एषां प्राधान्यभेदेनोदात्तो व्याख्यातः ॥ स्य र्शा ना पञ्च विं श तिः— पञ्चभिरधिका विंशतिः स्पृष्टानुप्रदान(!)-धर्मत्वात् स्पर्शाः तेषां संख्या । तेषां पञ्च वर्गाः कुं चु टु तु पृः । च पुनः यादयोऽष्टौ स्मृताः ते य र ल व ह श ष साः । स्वरा अरपृष्टप्रयत्नाः यरलवास्तु किञ्चित्स्पृष्टाः, शषसहा अर्द्धस्पृष्टाः ⁴ “त्वो नेम-इत्यर्धस्य” (नि. ३.२०) इति यास्कः । शेषा हलोऽनुक्ताः स्पृष्टा आचार्यैः प्रोक्तास्ते स्पर्शाः स्पृष्टप्रयत्नाः, च पुनश्चत्वारो यमाः कुं खुं गुं घुं इति ⁵ । “अद्यानन्त्याश्चत्वारस्ते सयमाः ते ⁷ कुं खुं गुं घुं इति अनन्त्य[⁸न्त्ये-]संयोगे[⁹न]न्त्यपूर्वेऽन्त्योत्तरे व्यवधान-वर्जिते तत्र यमा वर्तन्ते न सन्देह इति ¹⁰ (गौ, शि, २) । “अनन्तसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्व-गुणः” इत्यौदन्नजिरपि, नारदश्च—“अनन्त्यश्च भवेत् पूर्वो ह्यन्तश्च परतो यदि । तत्र मध्ये यमस्तिष्ठेत् सवर्णः पूर्ववर्णयोः । वर्गान्त्याज् शषसैः सार्धमन्तःस्थैश्चापि संयुतान् । दृष्ट्वा यमा निवर्तन्ते आदेशिकमिवाध्वगाः” (ना.शि. २.२. ८-९) इति । अयमपि वर्णागमो विधीयतेऽस्माच्छास्त्रात् । च त्वा रश्च य मा इति वर्णान्तरत्वेनोपदेशः संयोगशास्त्रात् । तत्र संयोगस्तिविधौ गौतमेन दर्शितः । “अथ त्रिविधः संयोग-पिण्डो भवत्ययस्यिण्डो दारुपिण्डस्तयोर्णापिण्डश्चेति । यमसहितमयस्यिण्डं दारु-पिण्डमन्तःस्थैर्युक्तं यमान्तःस्थवर्जं तूर्णापिण्डमिति । अन्तःस्थयमसंयोगे विशेषो नोपलभ्यते इति च । अशरीरं यमं विद्याद्विशेषः पिण्डनायकः” (गौ, शि, १) इति च । ¹⁰यथा पलिक्लीति ककाररूपः पूर्ववर्णसवर्णौ यथासङ्ख्यः प्रथमस्तकार-स्तेनायं वर्णक्रमः ककारयमः[ः] ककाररूपः[ः] तकारनकारईकारा अन्तर्व[त्]क्ली पलि[क्]क्लीत्यादि ¹¹ चख्खनतुरित्यत्र ¹² खकाररूपः । अग्नि(अग्नि ?)रित्यत्र गकाररूपः । ज[घ्]घ्नतुरित्यत्र घकाररूपः । यज्ञ (यग्ज्ञ ?) इत्यत्र जगजाः

1. L अनुदात्तो. 2. MSS. हृदुरः. 3. Be. मध्यमस्ते. 4. Be. °भेदेनोदात्तो.

5. Be. omits शषसहा अर्द्धस्पृष्टाः. 6. L घूमिति. 7. L यमास्ते.

8. Be. इत्यन्त. 9. L adds गौतमः. 10. This passage is very corrupt.

11. Be. अन्तर्वतृक्लीत्यादि. 12. Be. चख्खन° or चख्खन°.

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च × क = यौ चापि पराश्रितौ ।

॥२॥ दुःस्पृष्टेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः श्रुत एव च ॥५॥

(गजज्ञाः १) । अत्र चवर्गयतोऽपि ज्ञप्तस्य भग्यान्वर्त्तो गुंकारमभावेनः ।
वर्णक्रमे यकार-जकार पूर्ववर्णवर्गमद्वय मयस्यमगकार-लकाराः । वर्गान्त्यानि
किम् ? उदङ्गम् । अन्तःस्थेति किम् ? कार्त्तन्, परत् ॥४॥

अनुस्वार इति । “मोऽनुस्वारः” (पा ८ १.२१) नारम् अनु भवतीत्यनुस्वारः ।
विविधं गृह्यत इति विसर्ग उच्चापरमंशः तो । अन्ता नु म नुम्योक्तस्य या यो या
तविधोऽपि दन्तमूले दन्तमूनम्यानीयः, स्वरान् अकारादीन् अनु मन्व्योक्त्य प्राप्ते-
ऽश्वयंभ । स्वरानुगतो यथा तथा ‘गित्यं ङोः गयमेपु’ प्रत्येकं परेषु कर्तव्यः ।
नारदोऽपि—“आपद्यते मकारो ऋक्षप्रचयेऽनुस्वारम् । यवनेषु परमयणं श्वयं
परेषु चोत्तमावसिम्” (ना. शि २ ४ ४) । अनुस्वारद्वयग्रहणं चतुर्ष्वपि दन्तमूलाभा-
न्दति अनुस्वारो’ विसर्गयेति पाठात् । म च यथा सुराद्वेगजाता स्त्री मानुनामिकं
रंगम् परा इति वाद्यमानकान्यपातशब्दाशुकारिणम् अभिवदति तत् रङ्गं द्वितीयम्
अनुस्वारं जानीयात् । लोकिक् प्रदर्शं मन्वयर्षादाहरणम् आह “सि परा इव
चेदये”ति । अचि नियमत्वाद् अनुस्वारोऽनु गणितो विकल्पादन्तेषु ज्ञेयम् ।
तथा “अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वरः वा” (१ ११) इति षट्कार्पादे गोनकोक्तेः ।
दृग्गते च “हंसः शुचिपत्” (षट्क् ४.४०.५) “मोमानं स्वरणम्” (षट्क्. १.१८.१)
इत्यादावुदात्तत्वमिति । विसर्गस्य षटविधा गतिः । ओकारभावः’ पुरोहितम्,
यदि कदाचिदूष्णो विसर्गाद् अन्यद् विसर्गाद् विना ओभावप्रसन्नानं’ गुणलत्वम्
लक्ष्येषु मत्वस्त्वोत्वगुणत्वैति परे (?) ओत्वम् अतोऽप्यो’ भावात् केयनं
गुणवत्त्वे उभयोऽुदाहरणयोः सादृश्यं चिन्त्यते । उकार आदिर्यस्य तत्
‘परे यस्य तत्सादृश्यं स्वरानां ओभावात् तत् ज्ञेयं व्यक्तम्’ । प्रीतः । प्रीतः ।
अतोऽकारानां स्वरानां तत्र विसर्गानामिति । अत एव पदकालेऽवग्रहः ।
वि वृत्ति विवृत्तिभावः । य इन्द्रः । [गयमा] गयमानां भावः । रे फ
ए य च रकारभावः । “दुर्गमः” । निष्पद्यमाणः । अपामसोर्म । उपर्य-

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Be अनुस्वारो. | 2. L ज्ञातं, Be ज्ञातं. | 3. Be उच्चारभाव |
| 4. Be ओष्ठभावे. | 5. L पर | 6. Be उत्तमतो |
| 7. MSS सादृश्ये | | |
| 8. MSS पर. | 9. MSS, वक्तव्यं. | 10. L दुर्ग (२*) |
| | | 11. Be निष्पद्यमाण |

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यर्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।

॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं कृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥

स्वयवः । जि ह्वा मू ल सु प ध्वा चेति । ×क(पौ कखपफाश्रयौ) । त्रित ×कूपे ।
असौ यः पन्थाः । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामूलोपधानीया अयोगवाहा आश्रयस्थान-
भागिनो^१ यमाश्रितास्तस्य स्थानं भजन्तीत्यर्थः । दुः सृष्टं च तीति । ईषत्-
सृष्टोऽन्तःस्थसधर्मा लृकारः पुतः, एवकारो दीर्घभेदव्यावर्तकः । चकाराद् ऋस्व-
सङ्गतः कार्यः । अनुस्वारादयो लृप्पुतान्ताः पञ्च षड् वा । एवमेते त्रिषष्टि-
सप्ततुःषष्टिर्वा व्याख्याताः ॥५॥

वर्णसंख्यां विधाय सम्प्रति वर्णोत्पत्तिं वक्तुम् उत्पादयितुर्विवेकमुद्यमं^२
चाह—आत्मेति । अतनशीलः सरणशीलो वाऽदनशीलो वा तयोदशेन्द्रियातीतः
कर्मा(र्ता?)त्मा “तस्य ह्रितस्य हृदयस्यायं प्रद्योतते तेन प्रद्योतेनैष आत्मा निष्क्रामति
चक्षुषो वा मूर्ध्नी वाऽन्येभ्यो वा शरीरदेशेभ्यः” (बृह.आ.४.४.२) इति विज्ञायते ।
“एवमेष सम्प्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात् समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरूपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभि-
निष्पद्यते” (छान्दो.८.१२.३) इत्येवं क एषाम् उच्चारयितेति प्रश्नस्योत्तरम्
आत्मेति छान्दोग्यश्रुतौ प्रतिपादितो बुद्ध्याख्येनेन्द्रियेन अर्थान् प्रयोजनानि
निश्चित्य मन इन्द्रियं वक्तुं योजयति प्रेरयति, तन्मनः कायान्तर्वर्तिनं जाठराग्निम्
[आहन्ति] प्रेरयति । सोऽप्यग्निर्मारुतं वायुं प्रेरयति ॥६॥

मारुतस्त्विति । स वायुरूर्ध्वगत्या उरसि हृद्देशे चरन् मन्द्रं स्वरं,
“स्फायितं चौ” (उ.सू.२.१२) त्यादिना मन्दे रक् प्रत्ययः, जनयत्युत्पादयति ।
तं स्वरं प्रातःसवनयुक्तं गायत्रं कृन्द आश्रितं जानीयात् । मन्द्रया वाचा
प्रातःसवनमिति सोमयज्ञः (-यज्ञियः ?) कल्पः ॥७॥

1. L पराश्रयोः

2. L भाविनो.

3. Be. °विवेक°.

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं तेषुभानुगम् ।

॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसयनं शीर्षग्न्य जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

मोदीर्णो मूर्ध्निभिस्तो वक्ष्यमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥८॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्यानात् प्रयवानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविटः प्राहुर्निपुणं त निबोधत ॥१०॥

उदात्तद्यानुदात्तस्य स्वरितस्य स्वरास्त्वयः ।

॥८॥ ऋसो दीर्घः प्रुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

• उदात्ते निपादगान्धागानुदात्त षट्पभधैवतो ।

स्वरितप्रभवा स्तेते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥१२॥

कण्ठ इति । तं मारुतं कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमस्वरगुतं विदुष्वर्द्धं जानीयात् तं शीर्षं शीर्षे भयं “शीर्षेण्डमी”ति (पा ६ १ ६०) गिरमः शीर्षभावः, १८तीयमयनयुतं आगतच्छर्द्धं जानीयात् ॥८॥

मो दीर्घ इति । म वागुरदीर्घो मूर्ध्नि षट्पभधै (१) अमिहृतः फानितः वक्तव्यं प्राप्य वर्णां जनयते । “मंजितायाम्” (पा ६ १ ७२) अधिक्त्य “मोवि मोपे चेतु पादपूरणम्” (पा ६ १ ११४) इति मनोपे गुणः । तथा । “यामो” मित्रावरुणमदमादुहस्मी विपटिं वर्णान्ताः प्रकटकरणैः प्राणमद्रप्रद्यतो । तां पञ्चमीं प्रथममुदिता मध्यमां वृद्धिभंग्यां यार्थं यक्ते करणविगदा धैस्वरौ च प्रपद्ये” इति । तथा च मन्त्रवर्णः । “चत्वारि वाक्परिमितपदानीति विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनोपिणः । शुद्धा वीण्य निहिता नेद्रयन्ति तुरीयं वाधो मनुष्या यदन्ति” (षट्क. १.१६४, ४५) इति ॥८॥

तेषां वर्णाणां वक्ष्यमाणो विभागः पञ्चप्रकारः स्मृतः । तमेव दर्शयति—
स्वरत इति उदात्तषड्जमन्द्रादिभ्यः, कालत उचारात्, स्यानादष्टविधात्,
प्रयत्नाद् अमृष्टादेः, अनुप्रदानतः अनुनामिकादेः । अनुप्रदानान्युपरिष्ठाद्
व्याप्याप्यामः । तत्पर्यं वक्ष्यमाणं नितरां जानीत ॥१०-१२॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥9॥ जिह्वाभूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकीष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

* ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शप्रसा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वाभूलमुपधा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥१४॥

* यद्योभावप्रसन्धानमुकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद्वाक्तभूष्मणः ॥१५॥

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।

॥10॥ औरसं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठग्रामाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१६॥

कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥11॥ सुर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ।

॥12a॥ जिह्वाभूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ॥१७॥

अष्टा विति निगदोऽयम् ॥१३-१५॥

हकारमिति । वर्गाणां पञ्चमैः ङजणनमैः च पुनः अन्तःस्थैः यरलवैः संयुतं हकारं औरसं उरःस्थानीयं तं विजानीयात् । असंयुतं केवलं हकारं कण्ठम् आहुः ॥१६॥

कण्ठावहाविति । अहौ अवर्णहकारौ कण्ठगौ स्याताम् । पुनर्ग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । इवर्णस्ववर्गो यकारः शकारश्चैते तालव्याः । [यद्]-यत्स्थानस्वरान्वितं हल् तत्तत्स्वरस्थानार्धमात्रकं^१ ज्ञेयम् । ^२अलोकारोऽनुबन्धो वर्णगणं बोधयति सुटुइतिवत् । उवर्णपवर्गावोष्ठगौ । ऋवर्णष्टवर्गो रकारः षकारश्च मूर्धन्याः स्युः । लवर्णस्तवर्गो लकारः सकारश्च दन्त्याः स्मृताः । तु पुनर् जिह्वाभूले कवर्गः आचार्यैरन्यश्च प्रोक्तः “अथ षष्ठजप्ता जिह्वाभूलौयाः प्रथमश्च वर्गः” (ऋ. प्रा. १.१८) इति शौनकोक्तेः । वकारो धीमदुभिर्दन्तोष्ठाभ्यां जातो दन्त्योष्ठः स्मृतः ॥१७॥

॥15b॥ अलांबुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु ।

॥16a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं क्लोः शपसेष्वपि ॥१८॥

• यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक्रं इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं रक्षाः प्रयोक्तव्या खे अरां इव खेदया ।

॥12b॥ एते तु कण्ठतालव्या ओऔ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१९॥

अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥13॥ ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विद्वतसंहतम् ॥२०॥

॥14b॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वासूलीयनासिके ।

॥15a॥ अयोगवाह्य विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥२१॥

• स्वराणामुष्मणां चैव विद्वत करणं स्मृतम् ।

तेभ्योऽपि विद्वतावेडौ ताभ्यामैचौ तथैव च ॥२२॥

अनुस्वारस्त्विति । अनुस्वारो नासिक्यो ज्ञेयः^१ । एतेन द्वावपि व्याख्यातौ ।
वर्गाणां पञ्चमाः ङजणनमा नासिकाः (१) । अपिगद्दात् स्ववर्गस्थानीया अपि ॥१८॥

कण्ठतालुभ्यां जाताविवर्णवर्णौ^२ स्मृतौ । ओवर्णौवर्णौ^३ कण्ठो-
ष्ठभ्यां जातौ स्मृतौ । अत्रोपदेशरूपत्वात् सन्धिः 'अइउण्' इतिवत् । तत्र
विविन्नक्ति—'ए कारो कारयो स्वर्धमात्रा कण्ठस्य भवेत्, अन्या त्व[ध्य]र्ध-
मात्रा उक्त[ान्य]स्थानस्य । इकारोकारान्तवर्णौ^४ ऐ [औ]^५ क्रमेण विद्वत
संहतप्रयत्नौ^६ ज्ञेयौ । उ प धा नो य इति व्याख्यातः ॥१९-२१॥

ऊष्मणामिति । इशपसानाम् अर्चा विद्वतं करणं प्रयत्नं^७ स्मृतं शिष्टैः ।
तेभ्यो^८ एडौ एभ्योऽसृजौ विद्वतप्रयत्नौ ताभ्याम् [ऐचौ] ऐ औ विद्वतौ^९ ।
व्याख्यातमन्यत् ॥२२॥

1 Be ज्ञेयम्

2 Be L जातविवर्णवर्णौ

3 L उवर्णौवर्णौ

4 L इकारौकार°

5 Be L इकारोकारान्तवर्णौ

6 Be L ऐ

7 L प्रयत्नौ

8 L प्रयत्न°

9 Be तेभ्योऽसृजौ एडौ

10 Be adds ततोऽपि ताभ्यामपि च पुनराकारो विद्वताणाम्

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्मृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमस्मृष्टाः शलस्तथा ।

शेषाः स्मृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥२३॥

॥17॥ अमोऽनुनासिका नङ्गो नादिनो हभषः स्मृताः ।

ईषन्नादा यण्जशश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ।

॥18॥ ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥२४॥

* कुतीर्यादागतं दग्धमपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।

न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥२५॥

* सुतीर्यादागतं व्यक्तं स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।

सुखरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म राजति ॥२६॥

नि बो धा नु प्र दा न त इति । अनु पश्चात् प्रदानं स्वस्थानाद् अन्यस्थान-
सुच्चारणभेदेन प्रदीयते तत्तस्मात् शिष्य निबोध जानीहि ॥२३॥

अ मो ऽ नु ना सि का इति । अ इ उ ण् । ऋ ऌ क् । ए ओ ङ् ।
ऐ औ च् । ह य व र ट् । ल ण् । ज म ङ् ण न म् एतेऽमोऽनुनासिका
हरवर्जिताः । हभभघटढाः नादिनः नादानुप्रदानाः । जवगडदा ईषत्^१
किञ्चिन्न्यूननादानुप्रदानाः खफछठथाः श्वासिनस्तु [चटतकप]श्रपसा किञ्चिन्-
न्यूनश्वासान् जानीयात् । एतद् गोर्वाचो धाम स्थानम् आचार्यः प्रचक्षते ॥२४॥

शैक्षेभ्योऽध्यापकमुपदिशन् कूपदेशकं निन्दति कु ती र्या दि ति । अननू-
चानात् तीर्याद् गुरोः । “निपातागमयोस्तीर्थम् ऋष्टिजुष्टे जले गुरावि”ति नाम-
लिङ्गानुशासने । प्राप्तं दग्धं भस्मवद् गतरसम् अपगतवर्णम् अयथोदितस्थानवर्णं च
भक्षितम् अ[न]दराद् घुष्टं तस्य घोषयितुः परिमोक्षो नास्ति । कस्येव ?
पापाहेरिव, हन्तुरिव किल्बिषाद् मोक्षो नास्तीति ॥२५॥

स्तीति च सु ती र्या दि ति । सुगुरोः प्राप्तम् अभ्यस्तं सुसम्प्रदायि ब्रह्म
वेदाख्यं राजति शोभते ॥२६॥

- * न करालो न लम्पोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनामिकः ।
गह्वरो वक्षनिष्ठश्च प्रयोगान् वक्तुमर्हति ॥२७॥
- यथा व्याघ्री हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पोडयेत् ।
भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२८॥
- एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पीडिताः ।
सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोकं मर्हयते ॥२९॥
- अभ्यासार्थं द्रुतां वृत्तिं प्रयोगार्थं तु मध्यमाम् ।
शिष्याणामुपदेशार्थं कुर्याद् वृत्तिं त्रिनिमित्ताम् ॥३०॥
- गह्वरः गह्वरां प्रादाद् दार्चापुत्राय धीमते ।
दार्चापुत्रपाणिनिना येनैद् व्याहृतं भुवि ।
रत्नभूतमिदं शास्त्रं पृथिव्यां सम्प्रकाशितम् ॥३१॥

न क राल इति । नकारो 'नानुनामिक'पदाद् पक्षे योजनीयः ॥२७॥

य चेति । पतनं च भेदयतो ताभ्यां भीता व्याक्तो ग्रापदजातिस्तो यथा पुत्रान् वानान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न पोडयेत् तद्वद् वर्णान् वृत्तादिति ॥२८॥

ए व मि ति । एवं नाव्यक्ताः न पीडिताश्च वर्णाः प्रयोजनीयाः । सम्यक्-
स्यानप्रयत्नादिविधिना यद्योल्लेभ प्रयोगेन ब्रह्मलोके प्रयोक्ता पुण्यते किं
पुनर्भूतने इति भावः, एवं सम्यक् ज्ञातः स्वर्गकामधेनुयर्णः श्याद् इत्यर्थः ॥२९॥

अ भ्या सा र्थं इति । द्रुतां त्रिनिमित्तां मध्यमाम् अभ्यासार्थं कुर्यात् ।
व्याख्यातमन्यत् ॥३०॥

ग ह्व र इति । गं सुरां स्नेहन्वादिदोगाणां गमनं करोतीति गह्वरः
शिवः गह्वरगोलां गह्वरगोलाविशाम् । दार्चो दक्षस्यापत्यं "तस्यापत्यम्"
(पा. ४.१.८२) इत्यप् "टिह्ठाणञ्" (पा. ४.१.१५) इत्यादिना डीप् तस्याः पुत्राय
धीमतेतिमुबुद्धये प्रादात् । कोऽमावित्याकाद्यायाम् आह—दार्चो पुत्र
इति । यः पाणिनिः पणिनो युवाऽपत्यम् । "पत इज्" (पा. ४.१.८५)

* त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृतामिमां

य ब्रह्म पठेत् प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्

मुखमतुलं च समश्नुते दिवि दिषीति ॥३२॥

येन पाणिनिना इदं प्रत्यक्षं शब्दशास्त्रं व्याहृतम्^१ उक्तम् । तस्मै पाणिनये नम इति^२ पूर्वेण सम्बन्धः । पाणिनये इति पाठे शुभ्रादित्वं (पा. ४.१.१२३) कल्प्यम् । रत्न भूतमिति स्पष्टम् ॥३१॥

त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृतामिति । यो द्विजो वेदाधिकारो [प्रयतः] सावधानः सदा निरन्तरम् [इमां] पठेत् स [ब्रह्म] पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान् भवति । दिवि सुखम् अतुलं समश्नुते भुनक्ति, स्वर्गं व्याप्नोति वा । द्विर्वचनं शिक्षाध्याय-समाप्त्यर्थम् । विकृतिच्छन्दस्य ङसममपरवक्तव्यत्तम् “अर्द्धसमा अर्द्धे” (पि. ५.३१) इत्यधिकृत्य, “अपरवक्तव्यं नो लौगन् जोज्वा” (पि. ५.४०) विति लक्षणसूत्रात् ॥ इति शिक्षाप्रकाशः समाप्तः^४ ॥३२॥

1. L Be. °तं

2. Be. omits इति.

3. L Be. त्रिनयनाभिसुखनिःसृ°.

4. L reads also संवत् १८४३ पिंगलाब्दे जैष्ठे शुक्लप्रतिपदि दशहरारभदिने योकाश्यां श्रीदुर्गविनायकसन्निधौ ब्रह्मोपनाम्ना खण्डभक्तजगदीश्वरिणे लिखितमिदम् । ६ ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥

V. यशुःशास्त्रीया (The Yajus Recension).

अथ गित्ता प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनोयं मतं यथा ।
 'शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद् विद्याद् ययोत्तं लोकावेदयोः ॥१॥
 प्रमिदमपि गन्धार्थम् अविद्यातम् अनुविमिः ।
 पुनर्थलोकैरिष्यामि वाच उगारचे विधिम् ॥२॥
 त्रिपटियतुःपटियां यथाः 'मन्वसतो मताः ।
 प्राकृते मन्वते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंगतिरेकस्य स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंगतिः ।

॥१॥ यादयस्य स्मृता छष्टौ चत्वारस्य यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥
 अनुस्वारो विसर्गस्य प्लुत्यौ चापि 'पराश्रयो ।

॥२॥ दुःस्रष्टयेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः प्रुत एव च ॥५॥

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारो 'परा इत्यभिभाषते ।
 एवं 'रु' विज्ञानोपात्ते च परा इव चेदया ॥६॥

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तम् 'अन्तःस्थेद्यापि संयुतम् ।

॥१०॥ 'शौरसं तं विज्ञानोपात्तं कण्ठामाहुरसंयुतम् ॥७॥

आत्मा बुद्ध्या 'समर्थार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।

॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥८॥

1. B 'पूर्व्यं.

2. C मन्वसतो, L. मन्वसतो.

3. B पराश्रयो, L. पराश्रयो.

4. CD तस्य इत्यभिभाषते. L. तस्य इत्यभिभाषते.

5. CL रुद्राः प्रोक्ताः यः च परा इव चेदया.

6. CL अन्तःस्थेद्यापि.

7. CL शौरसं.

8. CDL मन्वसतो.

- मासुतसूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
 ॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं कृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥६॥
 कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
 ॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शौर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥१०॥
 सोदीर्णं सूक्ष्मं अभिहतो वल्लभापद्य मासुतः ।
 ॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥११॥
 स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
 ॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१२॥
 अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
 ॥९॥ जिह्वाभ्रूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवती ।
 स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जपञ्चममध्यमाः ॥१४॥
 ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च श्रवसा रेफ एव च ।
 जिह्वाभ्रूलम् उपधा च गतिरष्टविधोष्णः ॥१५॥
 'यद्योभावप्रसम्भानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।
 स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यद् अन्यद् व्यक्तम् जषणः ॥१६॥
 कुतीर्याद् आगतं दधम् अपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।
 'न तस्य परिमोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥१७॥
 सुतीर्याद् आगतं 'जग्धं स्वान्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
 सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म 'राजति ॥१८॥
 न करालो न लखोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।
 गग्नदो बद्धजिह्वश्च प्रयोगान् वक्तुम् अर्हति ॥१९॥

1. Weber reads °सम्भानसकारादिपरं,

2. CDL न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति.

3. CDL व्यक्तं स्वान्नाय्यं

4. CDL राजते.

यथा ध्याप्ति ङरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पीडयेत् ।

भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तदद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२०॥

एयं वर्षाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाम्बन्ता न च पीडिताः ।

मस्यैवर्षप्रयोगेण मन्त्रलोके महेयते ॥२१॥

अभ्यासायं हुतां हुतिं प्रयोगायं तु मध्यमाम् ।

गिण्याणाम् उपदेगायं कुर्याद् हुतिं विनम्रिताम् ॥२२॥

उदात्तद्यानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्वयः ।

॥S॥ ऋस्रो दोर्वः प्रुत इति कान्तो नियमा अचि ॥२३॥

कण्ठावन्नाविचुयशाम्तालञ्च्य ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥i॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरपा दत्वा न्यतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥२४॥

जिह्वासूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्यौष्ठो यः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥12॥ ए ऐ तु 'कण्ठातालञ्च्य ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥२५॥

अर्धमात्रा तु 'कण्ठास्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥13॥ 'एकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विद्वतसंस्कृतम् ॥२६॥

॥14b॥ उपध्यानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वाभूलीयनासिके ।

अयोगजाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभाविनः ॥२७॥

॥15॥ अनावुबोणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः स्वरानुगः ।

॥16a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्य ङोः शपसेपु च ॥२८॥

१०ऊष्मां च स्वराणां च विद्वतं करण श्रुतम् ।

तेभ्योऽपि ११विद्वतावेडो १२ताभ्याम् ऐषो ततोऽपि च ॥२८॥

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|----------|
| 1. CDL ध्याप्ति यथा दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च | 2. CDL न पीडये | 3. A अचि |
| 4. CL कण्ठातालञ्च्य | 5. A कण्ठस्य CDL कण्ठा शब्द एकारयोर्. | |
| 6. Weber reads इकारौकारयोर्भवे ए ० | CDL ओकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विद्वतसंस्कृतम् | |
| 7. CL आश्रयस्थानभाविन | 8. AL दन्तमूल्य, BW दन्त, CW मूल्य. | |
| 9. CL स्वरान् चटु | 10. CL स्वरानामूष्मां धैव | |
| 11. ABW विद्वतावेडो | 12. AW ताभ्यामीतो, CL ताभ्यामैषो ततोऽपि च. | |

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा ¹यणस्त्व्रीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः शलः स्मृताः ।

शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥३०॥

॥17॥ ²यमोऽनुनासिका ³नङ्गौ नादिनो ⁴ह्रस्वः स्मृताः ।

ईषन्नादा ⁵यणञ्जशश्च श्वांसिनस्तु खफादयः ॥३१॥

॥18॥ ⁶ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोधामैतत् प्रचक्षते ।

शङ्करः ⁷शङ्करीं प्रादात् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ॥३२॥

दाक्षीपुत्रः ⁸पाणिनयो येनेदं व्याहृतं भुवि ।

रत्नभूतम् इदं शास्त्रं पृथिव्यां सम्प्रकाशितम् ॥३३॥

येनाक्षरसमान्नायम् अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।

कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥३४॥

⁹चिनयनमुखनिःसृताम् इमां

य इह पठेत् ¹⁰प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति ¹¹पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्

¹²सुखम् अतुलं च समश्नुते दिवि दिवीति ॥३५॥

1. CL °नेमे; स्पृष्टा शरः, B नेमस्पृष्टाः शलः ; AW °नेमस्पृष्टाचलः.

2. CL यमो, B यशमो. (जपनी sec. m) AW जमो.

3. CL नङ्गो.

4. B हन्क्ष ; CL यणं जश, ABW य ए यशञ्.

5. AW ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो. 6. B ईषच्छ्वासश्, C ईषच्छ्वासाश्.

7. ABW शङ्करीं.

8. CL पाणिनिना.

9. CL चिनयनमभिमुख.

10. CL प्रयत्नय.

11. Weber regards धनधान्य before पशुपुत्र°.

12. CL अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते.

॥६॥

VI. ऋक्शाखीया (The Rk Recension

[१]

अथ शिवां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनोयं मतं यथा ।
'शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयैः ॥१॥
प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थम् अविज्ञातम् अबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्यत्नोकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥
विषष्टिसतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः शम्भुमते मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥
स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।

- ॥१॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ^३ X कः ऋः औ चापि पराश्रितौ ।
॥२॥ दुःस्रष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः प्लुत एव च ॥५॥

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- आत्मा बुद्ध्या 'समेत्यार्यान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।
॥३॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
॥४॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं हृन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥
कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं वैष्टुभानुगम् ।
॥५॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्नि अभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।

॥६॥ वर्णाञ् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।

॥७॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

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उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।

॥८॥ ऋस्वो दीर्घः श्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवती ।

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते ^१षड्जसध्यसपञ्चमाः ॥१२॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।

॥९॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।

जिह्वामूलम् उपक्षा च गतिरष्टविधोष्णः ॥१४॥

यद्योभावप्रसन्धानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।

स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद् व्यक्तम् जपणः ॥१५॥

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हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तम् ^२अन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।

॥१०॥ ^३औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१६॥

कण्ठावहाविचुयशास्त्रालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।

॥११॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या तृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१७॥

जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोत्तो दन्त्योष्ठो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।

॥१२॥ ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठौ स्मृतौ ॥१८॥

1. Y षड्जपञ्चममध्यमाः

2. Y अन्तःस्थैर्यपि

3. Y औरसं

अर्धमात्रा तु 'कण्ठाम्य' चोकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।

॥१३॥ चोकारैकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विहितमंशतम् ॥१८॥

मंशतं मादिकं श्रेय विगतं तु दिमातिरम् ।

घोषा वा मंशताः मर्षं अपोषा विवृताः श्रुताः ॥२०॥

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'मरास्यम्' उच्यते देव विगतं कर्षं श्रुतम् ।

तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेष्टो ताभ्याम् शेषो 'मये' च ॥२१॥

॥१४॥ अनुस्वारयमानां च नामिका म्यानमुच्यते ।

अयोगवादा यिज्ञेया 'आश्रयम्यानभागिनः' ॥२२॥

॥१५॥ अनाद्युर्ध्वानिर्घोषो दन्तानुल्लः 'स्वरानुगः' ।

॥१६॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्ताव्यो नित्यं स्त्रीः शपसिषु च ॥२३॥

अनुस्वारं विवृतां तु विवृतं आक्षरद्वये ।

विशेष्टो तु विवृतायाद् यतोश्चरमकारयोः ॥२४॥

'आर्षा' यदा हरेत् एतान् श्रुताभ्यां न च षोडशेत् ।

भाता यतश्चिदाभ्यां तदद् येषां प्रयोजयेत् ॥२५॥

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यदा गोरादिषा नारी तदा इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं 'रक्षाः' प्रयोज्याः ये चरा इव पेटया ॥२६॥

रक्षणे प्रयुज्योरन् गो यमेत् पूर्वं चक्षरम् ।

दीर्घस्य प्रयुज्योयात् यथावामिदम् आचरेत् ॥२७॥

उदये षेकमात्रेण अर्धमात्रेण मूर्धनि ।

नामिकायां त्वयाधे च रक्षणेव दिमातता ॥२८॥

1. Ch. कण्ठाम्य इति चोकारं. Y कण्ठाम्य एव चोकारं. 2. Y अक्षरां च अक्षरां च.

3. Y अक्षरां च. 4. Y It is after this अक्षरां च अक्षरां च अक्षरां च अक्षरां च.

5. Y 'आश्रयम्यान' 6. Ch. भातां च.

7. Y यदा व्याप्रा इत्यादि च.

8. Y रक्ष विजानोयात्.

१हृदयादुत्कटे तिष्ठन् कांस्थेन स्वमनुस्वरन् ।
 मार्दवं च हिमात्रं च जघन्वां इति निदर्शनम् ॥२८॥
 मध्ये तु कम्पयेत् कम्पम् उभौ पाश्वौ २समो भवेत् ।
 सरङ्गं कम्पयेत् कम्पं रथीवेति निदर्शनम् ॥३०॥

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एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पोडिताः ।
 सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥३१॥
 गीतो श्रोत्री शिरःकम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः ।
 अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेति पाठकाधमाः ॥३२॥
 माधुर्यम् अक्षरव्यक्तिः पदच्छेदस्तु सुस्वरः ।
 धैर्यं लयसमर्थं (?) च षडेति पाठका (?) गुणाः ॥३३॥
 शङ्कितम् भोतम् ३उद्वुष्टम् अव्यक्तम् अनुनासिकम् ।
 काकस्वरं ४शिरसिगं तथा स्थानविवर्जितम् ॥३४॥
 उपांशु दष्टं त्वरितं निरस्तं विलम्बितं गद्गदितं प्रगीतम् ।
 निष्पोडितं ग्रस्तपदाक्षरं च वदेन्नदोनं न तु सानुमास्यम् ॥३५॥
 प्रातः पठेन्नित्यम् उरःस्थितेन स्वरेण शार्दूलरतोपमेन ।
 मध्यन्दिने कण्ठगतेन चैव चक्राह्वसंकूजितसन्निभेन ॥३६॥
 तारं तु विद्यात् ५सवने हतोये शिरोगतं तच्च सदा प्रयोज्यम् ।
 ६मयूरहंसान्यभृतस्वराणां तुल्येन नादेन शिरःस्थितेन ॥३७॥

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॥१६b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वौषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः ७शरः स्मृताः ।
 श्रेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥३८॥
 ॥१७॥ यमोऽनुनासिका ८नङ्गो नादिनो ह्रस्वः स्मृताः ।
 द्वेषन्नादा ९यणो जश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ॥३९॥

1. C °दुत्कारे L °दुत्कदे.

2. CL समौ.

3. Weber reads उद्वुष्टं.

4. Weber reads शिरःसगतं.

5. सवगं हतीयं.

6. Ch °हंसानुभृत°.

7. Y शलः.

8. Y नङ्गौ.

9. Y यण्यश्च.

॥१८॥ ईपच्छासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ।

'दाक्षीपुत्रः पाणिनिना येनेदं' व्यापिनं भुवि ॥४०॥

इन्द्रः पादौ तु वेदस्य हृष्टौ कन्धोऽय पठ्यते ।

ज्योतिषाम् अयनं चक्षुनिर्गन्तं श्रोत्रम् उच्यते ॥४१॥

शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।

तस्मात् साङ्गम् अधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महोयते ॥४२॥

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उदात्तम् आख्याति इपोऽङ्गलोनां प्रदेशिनीमूलनिघिटमूर्धा ।

उपान्तमध्ये स्वरितं धृतं च कनिष्ठिकायामनुदात्तमेव ॥४३॥

उदात्तं प्रदेशिनो विद्यात् प्रचयं मध्यतोऽङ्गलिम् ।

निहतं तु कनिष्ठिकां स्वरितोपकनिष्ठिकाम् ॥४४॥

अन्तोदात्तम् आद्युदात्तम् उदात्तम् अनुदात्तं नोचस्वरितम् ।

मध्योदात्तं स्वरितं हुगदात्तं त्रुगदात्तमिति नवपदशय्या ॥४५॥

अग्निः सोमः प्र वो वोर्यं हविषा खर् इहस्पतिः इन्द्रावृहस्पतो ।

अग्निरित्यन्तोदात्तं सोम इत्याद्युदात्तं प्रेत्युदात्तं

य इत्यनुदात्तं वोर्यं नोचस्वरितम् ॥४६॥

हविषा मध्योदात्तं स्वरिति स्वरितं इहस्पतिरिति हुगदात्तम्

इन्द्रावृहस्पतो इति त्रुगदात्तम् ॥४७॥

अनुदात्तो हृदि ज्ञेयो मूर्ध्नुगदात्त उदाहृतः ।

स्वरितः कर्णमूलीयः मर्धास्ये प्रचयः स्मृतः ॥४८॥

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चापस्तु वदते मातं हिमात्रं चैव वायसः ।

शिखी रीति त्रिमात्रं तु नकुलस्वर्धमात्रकम् ॥४९॥

कुतीर्यादागतं दग्धमपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।

न तस्य पाठे मोचोऽस्ति पापाहेरिष किल्बिषात् ॥५०॥

1 Ch दाक्षीपुत्र°, Y. °पुत्र पाणिने.री.

3. Weber reads धृतय Ch दृत य

2 Y व्याहत भुवि

4. Y परिमोचोऽस्ति.

सुतीर्थादागतं ¹व्यक्तं स्वान्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
 सुस्वरिण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म ²राजते ॥५१॥
 मन्त्रो ह्येनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
 स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यद्येन्द्रशब्दः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥५२॥
 अवचरम् (१) अनायुष्यं विस्वरं व्याधिपोडितम् ।
 अजताशस्वरूपेण (१) वज्रं पतति मस्तके ॥५३॥
 हस्तह्येनं योऽधीते स्वरवर्णविधर्जितम् ।
 ऋग्यजुःसामभिर्दग्धो वियोनिम् अधिगच्छति ॥५४॥
 हस्तेन वेदं योऽधीते स्वरवर्णार्थसंयुतम् ।
 ऋग्यजुःसामभिः पृतो ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥५५॥

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शङ्करः शङ्करीं प्रादाद् दाचीपुत्राय धीमते ।
 वाङ्मयेभ्यः समाहृत्य देवीं वाचमिति स्थितिः ॥५६॥
 येनाक्षरसमान्नायम् अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
 कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५७॥
 येन धीता गिरः पुंसां विमलैः शब्दवारिभिः ।
 तमश्वाजानजं भिन्नं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५८॥
 अज्ञानान्धस्य लोकांस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।
 चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५९॥
 त्रिनयनमभिमुखनिःसृतामिसां

य इह पठेत् प्रयतश्च सदा द्विजः ।

स भवति धनधान्यपशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्

³अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते दिवीति दिवीति ॥६०॥

अथ शिक्षाम्, आत्मा, उदात्तश्च, हकारं, स्वराणां, यथा,
 गीतौ, अचोऽस्पृष्टा, उदात्तं, चापस्तु, शङ्कर एकादश ॥

इति पाणिनीय-शिक्षा समाप्ता ॥

1. Y जग्धं.

2. Y राजते.

3. Y त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृता°

4. Y प्रयतः सदा.

5. Y सुखमतुलं च सम°.

परिशिष्टम्

चान्द्र-वर्णसूत्राणि

Varna Sūtras of Candragomin

॥ ॐ विघ्नान्तकाय नमः । ॐ ॥

स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥१॥

तत्र स्था न म् ॥२॥

कण्ठः अकुहविसर्जनीयानाम् ॥३॥

कण्ठतालुकम् इदेदैताम् ॥४॥

कण्ठोष्ठम् उदोदौताम् ॥५॥

मूर्धा ऋटुरपाणाम् ॥६॥

दन्ताः लृतुलसानाम् ॥७॥

नासिका अनुस्वारस्य ॥८॥

स्वस्थानानुनासिकाः ङजणनमाः ॥९॥

तालु इयुयानाम् ॥१०॥

ओष्ठौ उपध्मानीययोः ॥११॥

दन्तौष्ठं वकारस्य ॥१२॥

जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य (ययोः) ॥१३॥

क र ण म् ॥१४॥

जिह्वाग्रं दन्तानाम् ॥१५॥

जिह्वामर्धं तालव्यानाम् ॥१६॥

जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम् ॥१७॥

शेषाः स्वस्थानका(क)रणाः ॥१८॥

प्र य लो द्विविधः ॥१९॥

आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥२०॥

तत्र आ भ्य न्त रः ॥२१॥

संहतत्वं विहृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वम् ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥२२॥

संहतत्वम् अकारस्य ॥२३॥

विद्वतम् ऊष्मणां स्वराणां च ॥२४॥

तेभ्यो विद्वतत्वं त्वेदीतोः (त्वेदीतोः) ॥२५॥

ताभ्याम् ऐदीतोः ॥२६॥

ताभ्यामप्यकारस्य ॥२७॥

सृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥२८॥

ईषत्सृष्टत्वं त्वन्तःस्थानाम् ॥२९॥

वा ह्यः ॥३०॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्च

विद्वतकण्ठा [अ-]नादानुप्रदाना अघोषाः ॥३१॥

प्रथमद्वितीयपञ्चमा अन्तःस्थाश्चात्यप्राणाः ॥३२॥

इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः ॥३३॥

तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तःस्थहकाराः

संवृतकण्ठ[ः] नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥३४॥

द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शषसहाश्चोष्माणः ॥३५॥

कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः ॥३६॥

अन्तःस्था यरलवाः ॥३७॥ इत्येष बाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥

अत्र चावर्णो ऋसो दीर्घः प्लुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः प्रत्येकम् उदात्तानुदात्त-
स्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति ॥३८॥

एवमिवर्णोवर्णौ ऋवर्णश्च ॥३९॥

लृवर्णस्य दीर्घो नास्ति तेन द्वादशधा भवति ॥४०॥

एकमात्रिको ऋस्वः ॥४१॥

द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः ॥४२॥

त्रिमात्रिकः प्लुतः ॥४३॥

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥४४॥

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥४५॥

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥४६॥

स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च ॥४७॥

अन्तःस्था द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्चेति ॥४८॥

इति चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि समाप्तानि ॥

THE PĀṆINĪYA-SIKṢĀ

With Translation and Notes (Critical and Exegetical)

THE PĀNINIYA SIKSĀ

WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES (CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL)

[a-mun] [p-l-] [c-o-n] [a-mun] [h-a-m-a-d] [h-o]
 ā-m-m-a-n-a-m-m [p-l-l-ā-n] g-l-a-d-d-h-a-y [p-l-a-g-a-d-a-d-a]
 k-h-a-p-l-a-c-h-a [h-a-l-l-a-c-a] [p-l-l-a-y] [h-a-m-a-d] [h-a-l]

NOTE I. The *Varṇa-samāhāya* (or the so-called *Śiva-sūtras*) whether it was composed by Pāṇini or any of his predecessors was in all likelihood an essential part of the PŠ, and constituted its beginning, for pratyāhāras like *ac*, *ya*, *īr*, etc., have been used in that work. But there being no direct evidence about its assumed place in the PŠ we have put it within square brackets. (For detailed discussion on its age and authorship as well as other points, see Introduction, §§ 12-15).

NOTE 2. The Phj., Prk., Yaj. and Rg recensions begin with the three following couplets:

Atla filiklan joraleppara Pannalyan nathay yalla
 Istoinupareyara filalalya yalla filiklan lokalekalya (1)

Pratiṣṭhām apī kṛtsvāstham ācāryaḥ ||
pūnar eva kṛtsvāstham eṣa ācāryaḥ vidhiḥ || (2)

Tri-guṇīḥ cātuh-guṇīr vā tannih sambhūto matāh |
Prākṛte Samāhṛte cāpi tannami pūṣṭaḥ Sa sambhūto || (3)

Tr. Now I shall give out the Śikṣā according to the views of Pāṇini. In pursuance of the tradition afore, one should learn it with reference to the popular and the Vedic languages. Though words and their meaning are well known, yet these are not within the knowledge of persons intellectually deficient, (hence) I shall dwell once more on the rules regarding the pronunciation of words. That speech sounds in Prakrit and Sanskrit are sixty-three or sixty-four, according to their origin, has been said by Brahman (Svayambhū) himself. [1-3].

a. The expression *Pāṇinīyaṃ matam yathā* agrees with the following which occurs later on in all recensions (except the AP.): *Samkaraḥ sāmkaṛiṃ prādād Dākṣīputrāya dhimate*. It appears that the compiler of the AP. did not know who the author of the PS. was. For, though in the introduction of his metrics (ch. 328 AP. ed. Ānandāśrama) he writes: *chando vakṣye mūlajais taiḥ Piṅgalōktaṃ yathākramam* he is quite silent about the source of the Sikṣā given by him. It is not so much likely that Pāṇini like later authors would put in his own name in his work, for in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* too he does not mention himself. This ignorance of the compiler of the AP. along with the defective nature of the text of the PS. as given in his work probably goes to show that at his time (c. 800 A.C.) the PS. was not a frequently studied work. The *Prātiśākhya*s which are later than PS. must have supplanted it to a considerable extent at that time. That the author of the AP. leaves out as many as six *hemistichs* out of *eighteen couplets* shows the damaged condition in which his material had already reached at the time of the compilation of the AP.

b. The expression *tri-ṣaṣṭiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā* shows how the author of these spurious verses felt a difficulty over the meaning of the first two couplets of the PS. and could not say for certain whether 63 or 64 letters were meant by Pāṇini. Kauṭīliya *Arthaśāstra* (c. 300 B.C) knows only 63 letters (see ed. Jolly, II. 9.14). The AP. contains none of these couplets except the first half of the third in the following form: *vakṣye śikṣāṃ triṣaṣṭiḥ syur varṇā vā catur-adhikāḥ*. It is evident that the compiler of the AP. too felt a difficulty over first two couplets of the PS. It cannot be ascertained whether the authors of the other recensions have imitated the indecision of the AP. in this matter or independently had their own confusion.

c. The expression *Prākṛte Saṃskṛte cāpi*, scarcely older than the AP. (c. 800 A.C.), has sometimes been erroneously referred to as the earliest mention of the names of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages (e.g. Hari Narayan Apte, *Wilson Philological Lectures* of 1915, Poona, 1922, p.5).

Svarā viṃśatir ekaś ca sparśānāṃ pañca-viṃśatiḥ ।

yādayaś ca smṛtā hy aṣṭau catvāraś ca yamāḥ smṛtāḥ ॥ (4)

Anusvāro visargaś ca ḥa-ḥau cāpi parāśrayau ।

duḥsprṣṭaś cēti vijñeyo ḷ-kāraḥ pluta eva ca ॥ (5)

Tr. Vowels are twenty-one, stops twenty-five, the group beginning with *ya* (i.e. semivowels, sibilants and *h*) eight and yamas four; anusvāra, visarga *ḥ* and *ḥ* are dependent on others and the pluta *ḷ* is *duḥsprṣṭa*. [4-5].

NOTE 3 The order in which the different groups of speech-sounds have been mentioned seems to be due to exigency of metre. The twenty one vowels according to the commentaries, the *Pañjikā* and the *Pratīkhyas* are $\bar{a}, \bar{ā}, \bar{i}, \bar{ī}, \bar{u}, \bar{ū}, \bar{e}, \bar{ē}, \bar{o}, \bar{ō}, \bar{ai}, \bar{au}, \bar{a}, \bar{ā}, \bar{i}, \bar{ī}, \bar{u}, \bar{ū}, \bar{e}, \bar{ē}, \bar{o}, \bar{ō}, \bar{ai}, \bar{au}, \bar{a}, \bar{ā}, \bar{i}, \bar{ī}, \bar{u}, \bar{ū}, \bar{e}, \bar{ē}, \bar{o}, \bar{ō}, \bar{ai}, \bar{au}$.

The earliest enumeration of vowels has probably been in the so-called *Siva sūtras*. But there we have only nine vowels, long and pluta ones being altogether omitted. The omission has been discussed before (see Introduction, § 14). The *Pratīkhyas* are not in agreement with one another as regards the treatment of vowels. The following is a tabular statement of vowels recognized in the extant *Pratīkhyas* compared with the vowels of the *PS*.

Table I
Vowels according to the *PS* and the *Pratīkhyas*

<i>PS</i>	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}	
<i>APr</i> ¹	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}													22
<i>VP</i> ²	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}													13
<i>TPr</i> ³	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}													17
<i>VPr</i> ⁴	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}	23
<i>RT</i> ⁵	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}	\bar{a}	$\bar{ā}$	\bar{i}	$\bar{ī}$	\bar{u}	$\bar{ū}$	\bar{e}	$\bar{ē}$	\bar{o}	$\bar{ō}$	\bar{ai}	\bar{au}	23

¹ The *APr* according to the commentary does not include the pluta vowels in the *Varga-samānīya* but admits the existence in the *Atīrṣa Veda* (I 176). It is possible that the pluta vowels arose late in the recitation of this *Veda*.

² In its enumeration of vowels *Uvaṣa* (e.g., on *VPr* I 14) does not mention pluta ones though the *VPr* recognizes them (see I 16; II 21 etc.). In the *VPr* (also long \bar{e}) does not enjoy the full status of a vowel. For it can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end (I 2, 11).

³ The commentaries to the *TPr* do not recognize pluta variety of \bar{e} and \bar{o} diphthongs.

⁴ This enumeration is according to *Uvaṣa*. For his view on *VPr* vowels see Note 2 above. The first seven chapters of the *VPr* are genuine. The last (VIII) chapter seems very much to be a late composition (see Weber *Ind. Stud.* IV, p. 6). Hence by *VPr* we shall understand the first seven chapters and the chapter VIII will be designated by the name late *VPr* or *IVr*.

⁵ The view of the *RT* as regards the number of vowels it recognizes has been gathered from its *vṛtti* which might have been built on *Aśvavāsa*'s work (see Introduction § 10). The recognition of a long \bar{i} by the *RT* is curious. *IS* and other *Pratīkhyas* do not accept this.

The difference between the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhya is due to their originally different character, for the former was a manual for helping the recitation of all the Vedas or it may have belonged to the one undivided Veda that existed at the very beginning (see Introduction, § 18), while the latter (the Prātiśākhya) were treatises related to the peculiar mode of reciting or chanting one particular Veda, or its many recensions (*tatra sarva-veda-sādharaṇī śikṣā...Pāṇinīnā prakāśitā. prativēda-śākhā ca bhinna-rūpā prātiśākhya-saṃjñitā anyaireva munibhiḥ pradarsitā*, Prasthāna-bheda, Weber's Ind. Stud. I, p. 16). The fact that the PŚ. was accessory to the study of all the Vedas, required that it should be a treatise of general kind and in this respect differs from the Prātiśākhya which related to one kind only of the mantra-text in its different śikḥās. Hence we find the Atharva and Ṛk Prātiśākhya omitting from their treatment of vowels the pluta ones which probably arose late in the recitation of their respective mantra-texts. The TPr. includes pluta *a*, *i* and *u* in its treatment of vowels while the diphthongs (*e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*) as well as *ṛ* and *ḷ* have no pluta variety in it.

NOTE 4. *Yamas* are said to be particular nasal sounds occurring before the nasal stops when plosives precede them. The enumeration of *yamas* as four in the commentaries appears to be a bit puzzling; for, according to the definition of the Prātiśākhya and the Nār. Ś. the *yamas* become 20 or 21 in number (see APr. I. 99; TPr. XXI. 12, XXII. 12; ṚPr. VI. 8). Uvaṭa in his commentary of the ṚPr. has a defence for both the enumerations. He sums up his first discussion, with *evam viṃśatir yamā bahv-ṛcānām bhavanti sva-rūpaiś catvāra eva tad uttaratra yama-lakṣaṇe vicārayiṣyāmaḥ* (on I. 20) and in discussing the character of *yama* (on VI. 8) he says *tasmād iha 'sparśā yamānananunāsikā' ity ucyamāne viṃśatitvāt sthāninām ādeśānām api yamānām viṃśatitva-prasaṅgaḥ; sa mā bhūt. catuṛṇām eva yamānām prathamāḥ prathamam dvitīyā dvitīyam evam ā pañcamād āpadyerann ity ucyate*. The sum and substance of what Uvaṭa says seems to be that in pronunciation the *yamas* do

not partake of the characteristics of their respective groups to any considerable extent, hence they are to be called the first yama the second yama and so on, making the yamas four in number. But the Bahraris however thought otherwise and gave an extremely logical interpretation to the definition of the Pratisakhya without caring for its practical aspect (Whitney has a difficulty over the nature and number of the yamas see his comments on APr I 99 TPr II 51 XVI, 12 XXII 12. A great deal of his difficulty is due to the peculiar nature of the TPr). The late Vaj Pr 1c, its ch VIII (29) has recognized four yamas only though curiously enough Uvata explains their number to be twenty. In the Rktantra also (ed Burnell p 2) only four yamas have been recognized. (For more information about yamas see Siddheshwar Varma's 'Critical Studies', pp 99ff.)

NOTE 5 *Anusvara* All the Pratisakhya except the Rktantra have recognized one anusvara only. The Pañjika as well as the Prakasa recognizes a reading *anusvarau* according to which two anusvaras are available. In this matter the Pañjika invokes the authority of Audavraj. But the recognition of two anusvaras seems very much to be a late development and did not find favour with the majority of early Vedic phoneticians (Śaiksikas). It is possibly the author of the spurious verse *tri sastiś catuś sasti va* etc, that has first honoured the view of Audavraj in connexion with the PS.

NOTE 6 *Duhsprsta* The pluta *ḷ* has been called the *duḥ sprsta* or 'touched with difficulty'. This may be one of the reasons why some Pratisakhya did not recognize this sound (see Table I). But the PS being meant for all the Vedas had to notice this. It should be known that the commentator to the RT recognizes this (see *ibid*). Weber was inclined to understand *duḥsprsta* as a *nasikya* (Ind Stud IV, p 349). But his view seems to be untenable. The Pañjika on the authority of Audavraj takes it in the sense of *ṛsat sprsta* (p 11). For according to the latter *ḷ* partakes of the character of semivowels which are *ṛsat sprsta* according to PS. See also Uvata on RPr XIII 3.

*Ātmā buddhyā samarthyārthān mano yuñkte vivakṣayā |
manah kāyāgnim āhanti sa prērayati mārutam ||* (6)

*Mārutas tārasi caran mandraṁ janayati svaram |
prātaḥ savana-yogaṁ taṁ chando-gāyatram āśritam ||* (7)

*Kanthe mādhyandina-yugaṁ madhyamaṁ traiṣṭubhānugam |
tāraṁ tārlīya-savanaṁ śrīṣaṇyaṁ jāgatānugam ||* (8)

*Sōdīrṇo mūrdhny abhīhato vaktram āpadya mārutaḥ |
varṇāñ janayate teṣāṁ vibhāgaḥ pañcadhā smṛtaḥ ||* (9)

*Svarataḥ kālataḥ sthānāt prayatnānupradānataḥ |
iti varṇa-vidah prāhur nipuṇaṁ taṁ nibodhata ||* (10)

Tr. *Ātmā* with *buddhi* perceives things and sets the mind to an intention of speaking; the mind (then) gives impetus to the fire within the body, and the latter drives the breath out [6].

The breath circulating within the lungs creates the soft (*mandra*) tone; this is connected with the morning offering (*prātaḥ-savana*) and rests in the *Gāyatrī* (metre) [7].

(The same breath circulating) in the throat (produces) the middle (*madhyama*) tone and relates to the midday offering (*mādhyandina-savana*) and follows the *Trīṣṭubh* (metre); and the shrill (*tāra*) tone (which is produced by the breath circulating) in the roof of the mouth relates to the third (*i.e.*, evening) offering (of the day) and follows the *Jagatī* (metre) [8].

(The breath which is thus) sent upwards and is checked by the roof of the mouth attains to the mouth and produces speech-sounds (*varṇas*), which have a fivefold classification—according to their pitch, quantity, place of articulation, the primary effort and the secondary effort. So said those who were versed in (pronouncing) speech-sounds. Learn this carefully [9-10].

NOTE 7 *Pratah savanayogam* The Āitareya Brāhmaṇa has the following *atha mandraṁ tapati tasmāt mandraya vāca pratah savane śamset* (XIV 6)

NOTE 8 *Śiṛṣanyam* This is a form allowed by Pāṇini, in his grammar, for the Chandas only (*śiṛṣanyamś chandasī*, VI 1 60) By Chandas the grammarian surely meant the Vedic language¹ as opposed to the current language of his time. There is nothing peculiar in his use of the Vedic language in the Śikṣā which is a Vedāṅga (see also Notes 9 and 18 below)

NOTE 9 *So dīrnah* The peculiar sandhi observable here (*sah+udīrnah*) has been supported by Pāṇini (so ci *lope cet padapuranam* VI 1 131) According to the Kāśikā this sutra relates to the foot of a Rk (*īha Rk pada eta gṛhyate*) Hence this also is an indication of the archaic language of the PŚ (see also Notes 8 and 20)

NOTE 9 *Varnān* the speech sounds (see Note 14 below)

NOTE 10 *Janayate* The use of Ātmanepada in this verb as opposed to that of Parasmaipada in PŚ 4 deserves to be noted. But the meaning in both the cases is almost similar.

NOTE 11 *Svaratah* The word *stara* in this place means pitch accents, such as udatta, anudatta and svarita. The translator of the Chandogya Upaniṣad in the S B E series once translated this word as 'syllable' (I 4). This is indefensible.

NOTE 12 *Prayatna* This word means 'primary (*pra* = forward) effort (*yatna*)'. Patanjali, however, does not seem to be willing to allow such an interpretation (on Pāṇini, I 1 9, ed Kielhorn, vol I, pp 61f). But as he has objected to it from a different stand point we can well have our interpretation. For in articulating speech sounds, first of all we adjust the different parts of the mouth. This adjustment as opposed to setting the vocal chords to action (which has been termed as *anupradana*) has been

¹ For a searching enquiry into the meaning of Chandas as used by Pāṇini see Dr Paul Thieme's *Pāṇini and Veda* Allahabad 1935 especially pp 67ff.

justly called *prayatna*. This *prayatna* is included in the *āśya-prayatna* of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 9). *Āśya* in this work means 'the place of articulation (*sthāna*) in the mouth' (*āśya*). The use of *āśya* instead of *sthāna* has been meant for brevity (*lāghava*): prolixity should always be guarded against in a sūtra. The *prayatna* in *āśya-prayatna* has been identified with the *ābhyantara-prayatna* by Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita (on Pāṇini I. 1. 9). According to him it is of four kinds: *sprṣṭa*, *iṣat-sprṣṭa*, *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta*. As opposed to the *ābhyantara-prayatna*, he has *bāhya-prayatna*, which is another name for Pāṇini's *anupradāna*, which according to Patañjali consists of the following: *vivāra*, *saṃvāra*, *śvāsa*, *nāda*, (*ghoṣatā*, *aghoṣatā*)¹, *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahā-prāṇa* (on P. I. 1. 9) Kaiyaṣa adds to this three more: *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, and Bhaṭṭoji follows the latter in this matter (S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 9). The use of two different sets of derivatives of the root *vṛ* (such as *saṃvṛta*, *vivṛta* and *saṃvāra*, *vivāra*) in the classification of both kinds of efforts is not happy. Nevertheless it can be justified; for in the case of the *ābhyantara-prayatna*, the root *vṛ* relates to space between the two parts of the mouth, which touching or coming very close to each other, produce speech-sounds; while in the case of the *bāhya-prayatna*, it relates to the vocal passage where vocal chords are situated.

The fact that Patañjali and his successors use *ābhyantara*- and *bāhya-prayatna* instead of simple *prayatna* and *anupradāna* demands some notice. A change of practice in this matter probably points to the advance of phonetic studies which evidently took place during the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Patañjali. Some of the early Prātiśākhya-s such as the APr. and TPr. were written in this period (see Introduction, §24).

1. *Ghoṣatā* and *aghoṣatā* are simply synonymous to *nāda* and *śvāsa* respectively. Later grammarians however have taken *ghoṣatā* and *aghoṣatā* as something other than *śvāsa* and *nāda*. Evidently a marginal gloss crept into the Mahābhāṣya as early as Candragomin (c. 600 A. C.), who in his Varṇa-Sūtras has imitated this in using expressions like *nādanupradānā ghoṣavantaḥ* and *[a]-nādanupradānā aghoṣavantaḥ*. The mistake involved in the superfluous use of terms has been detected neither by Candragomin or any of his successors like Kaiyaṣa or Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita.

Pratīśākhya's very rarely use the terms *prayatna* and *anupradāna*. The APr never uses *prayatna*, but *anupradāna* is used in it once (I 12). In the RPr each of these terms occurs once (XIV 10, XIII 1). In the VPr *prayatna* occurs once (I 43) and *anupradāna* never. TPr coins a new word *karana* for *prayatna* (II 32, 34, 15, XXIII 6) and uses *prayatna* once (XVII 6, 7), but in the next occasion (XXIII 2) uses for it the word *karana vinaya* (adjustment of different articulating organs). Other Pratīśākhya's too use the term *karana* (e.g., APr I 18, VPr I 75, RPr VI 8). Whitney's translation of *prayatna* simply as 'effort' is vague. Weber's translation of the word as 'Mundbewegung' is however more accurate. *Anupradāna* is twice used in the TPr (II 8, XXIII 2). The disuse into which *prayatna* gradually fell seems to have caused the substitution of its radical sense 'first effort' by the more generalized sense 'effort' which without any adjective did not distinguish between the primary (*abhyantara*) and the secondary (*bahya*) efforts. As unambiguity and precision of terms is an essential condition in scientific discussion the post Pāṇinian phoneticians almost gave up the old terminology and had new terms like *abhyantara prayatna* and *bahya prayatna* for the simple *prayatna* and *anupradāna* respectively.

NOTE 13 *Anupradāna*. The term as we have seen above is equivalent to 'after effort' or 'secondary effort', which means stiffening or loosening of vocal chords. Whitney translates this as 'emission' (APr I 12, TPr XXIII 2) and Weber has rendered it by *Ausstossung* (Ind Stud IV p 107). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma translates this as 'sound material', or 'breath voice material' (*op cit*, pp 3-9) but such translations though not altogether incorrect are not happy. Whitney, Weber and Varma all seem to have missed the etymological implication of the word. The author of the *Śiṣyaprakāśa* however extends the meaning of *anupradāna* which according to him includes nasality too (p 29). This evident innovation seems to have justification from the separate mention of *anunāsikas* in PŚ 17b. (For other points regarding this word see above the Note 12 on *prayatna*.)

NOTE 14. *Iti varṇa-vidah prāhuḥ*. So said those who were versed in the lore of (pronouncing) the speech-sounds. This evidently shows that there were other masters of phonetics (Śaikṣikas) before Pāṇini wrote his Śikṣā. This hemistich does not appear in the AP. It is possible like the PŚ. 14 it has been left out (see Note 28 below). *Varṇa* also means a 'written sign' representing a speech-sound (see Th. Goldstücker, 'Pāṇini : his place in Skt. literature', London, 1861, pp. 34ff.).

The theory of producing speech-sounds as given here recognizes three principal places of articulation : chest (*uras*), throat (*kaṇṭha*) and the roof of the mouth (*śiras*). Patañjali too while explaining *catvāri śṛṅgā*, etc., interprets *tridhā baddhaḥ* as *triṣu sthāneṣu baddhaḥ : urasi kaṇṭhe śirasīti*. (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 3)

From the fivefold division of speech-sounds mentioned in the PŚ. 7 we may well expect that each class of sounds will be discussed next one after another. But authors of the inflated versions such as Ṛk., Yaj., Pñj. and Prk. recensions without paying any heed to this fact have interspersed passages (treating five divisions) with couplets from different sources.

*Udāttaś cānūdāttaś ca svaritaś ca svarās trayah |
hrasvo dīrghaḥ pluta iti kālato niyamā aci || (11)*

Tr. There are three kinds of (pitch) accent : udātta, anūdātta, and svarita. Among vowels short, long and pluta varieties are distinguished by their time (of articulation) [11].

NOTE 15. *Aci*. *Ac* meaning vowels is a pratyāhāra of Pāṇini. The Yaj. recension reads PŚ. 8 as its 23rd couplet.

NOTE 16. The Prk., Yaj. and Ṛk recensions read the following couplet as the 11th, the 14th and the 2th respectively :—

*Udātte niṣāda-gāndhārāv anūdātta ṛṣabha-dhaivatau |
svarita-prabhavā hy ete śadja-madhyama-pañcamāḥ || (12) ||*

12. Of the seven musical notes *niṣāda* and *gāndhāra* can arise in the high pitch (udātta), *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* in the low pitch (anūdātta), while

śaḍja madhyama and *pañcama* have their source in the medium pitch (*svarita*)

This couplet occurs in the *Nar S* (I 8 8) and seems to be original to it, for this work belonging to the *Sama Veda* has a direct concern with an elaborate theory of seven musical notes. Besides this the fact that the couplet has been composed in the *Ārya* metre while the passages common to all recensions are in the *Anuṣṭubh* seems to create a presumption in favour of its spurious character with reference to the *PS*. Its absence from the *AP* as well as uncertain position in other versions probably strengthens this presumption. Hence this has not been included in the reconstructed text.

Aṣṭau sthanāni varṇanam uraḥ kanthah śiras tatha |
jihva mūlam ca dantaś ca naṣṭi śṣṭhau ca tālu ca || (13)

Tr The speech sounds have eight places (of articulation) chest, throat, roof of the mouth (*lit* head), root of the tongue, teeth, nostril, lips and palate [13]

NOTE 17 The *RPr* and *TPr* do not recognize any pure dental sound and they place most of the dentals at the root of the teeth and according to the *RPr* *urasya* (*lit* from chest) sounds are existent only in the opinion of others (I 18). The other *Pratīśākhya*s admit *danta mūla* as an additional place of articulation (For details see the Table II)

NOTE 18 The *Pāṇjika* does not comment on the two following couplets. They seem to be irrelevant in the position they occur in the *AP*, *Prk*, *Yv* and *Rk* recensions. But they occur in the *Nar S* (II 5 4 9), *Yv S* (143 144) and *Mand S* (107-109) too.

O bhavaś ca vivṛtiś ca śa sa sa repha eva ca |
jihva mūlam upadhma ca gatr aṣṭa vidhōsmanah || 14 ||

Yady o bhava prasandhanam ukarādi param padam |
svarāntaṃ tadṛśaṃ vidyad yad anyad vyaktam usmanah || 15 ||

Tr *Usmans* (spirants) have eight ways (of development) change to *o* hiatus *ś*, *s*, *r* *jihvamuliya* and *upadhmaniya* [14]

When a word ending in *o* (out of an *ūṣman*) is followed by another word beginning with *u*, the former should be considered as ending in a vowel coming from an *ūṣman* [15].

a. These two couplets, though probably not belonging to the PŚ., seem to be very old. On the antiquity of the first (14), see B. Liebich, 'Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft,' II. § 22. The second couplet is not quite intelligible. Weber is willing to read *akārādi* against *ukārādi* of all MSS. (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 352).

b. The APr. according to its commentator recognizes four *ūṣmans* ś, ṣ, s and h (I. 31). The VPr. (I. 51). has also the same number. The TPr. adds χ and φ to these and has six (I. 9). The RPr. has recognized two more: h and ṁ, making altogether eight *ūṣmans* (I. 10, 12). The reckoning of *anuvāra* as an *ūṣman* seems to be very strange.

Hakāraṃ pañcamair yuktam antaḥsthābhiś ca saṃyutam |
aurasyaṃ taṃ vijānīyāt kaṇṭhyam āhur asaṃyutam || (16)

Tr. When combined with nasal stops (*lit.* fifth ones) and semivowels, *h* should be known (as arising) from the chest; while *h* not so combined is said to be from the throat [16].

NOTE 19. This couplet stands in a wrong place in the Yaj. recension, and the Pañjikā has not commented on it. Besides this it is missing in some MSS. of the AP. Still we have considered it to be belonging to the original PŚ. on the following grounds: (i) *Uras* according to the PŚ. 9 is a place of articulation for some of the speech-sounds, (ii) Indigenous Pali grammarians too have recognized some sounds as *aurasa* (Pali, *orasa* sounds; Minayeff, PGr. p. 2; Geiger, Pāli Lit. und Spr., p. 41), (iii) This couplet PŚ. 10 occurs also in late Śikṣās such as the Lomaśi Ś. (V.9), the Varṇaratna-pradīpikā Ś. (26) and the Yv. Ś. (177). Considering the position of this couplet in these works it does not seem to be possible that it originally belonged to them. The RPr. (I. 18) and the RT (II. 3) too recognize *urasya* sounds.

NOTE 20. *Antaḥsthābhiś ca*. Its feminine gender creates difficulty in construing this with 'varṇa' (masc.) or 'akṣara' (neut.)

in the instrumental plural [understood]. This difficulty was felt by some redactor who changed the expression to *antahsthaiś cāpi*. But the genuine original reading might well have been **antahsthebhīś ca*, and the late redactor probably finding this Chāndasa form unexplainable by the grammar of the classical Skt., which he thought to have been the language of the PŚ, changed it to *antahsthibhīś ca* and brought it within the control of the ordinary grammar, though the new difficulty which arose escaped his notice. The redactor of *antahsthaiś cāpi* made it faultless and removed all trace of the assumed original.

*Kaṇṭhyār ahār i-cu-yaśās tālaryā oṣṭhaja ru-pū ṛ
syur mūrdhanyā ṛ-tu-ra-ṣā dantyā ṛ-tu-la-śā smṛtāh ṛ* (17)

*Jihvā-mūle tu kuḥ prokta dantyōṣṭhyo caḥ smṛto budhah ṛ
e-ai tu kaṇṭha-tālaryā o-au kaṇṭhōṣṭhajan smṛtau ṛ* (.8)

*Ardha-mātrā tu kaṇṭhyasya ekāśulārayor bharet ṛ
aiśulārayor mātrā tayor cīṣṭa-samīṣṭam ṛ* (10)

Tr. A and h are throat sounds; i, cu (i e., e, ch, j, jh and ñ) and ś are palatals; u and pu (u e., p, ph, b, bh and m) labials; ṛ, ṛu (i.e., ṛ, ṛh, ṛd, ṛdh and ṛṇ) and ṣ cerebrals; and l, lu (i e., l, lh, ld, ldh and ṛṇ) and s are dentals [17].

Ku (i.e., k, kh, g, gh and ṇ) is uttered from the root of the tongue, and v is a denti-labial sound; o and ai are throat-palatal, and o and au are throat-labial sounds [18].

The throat element of e and o is half a mātrā and of ai and au is (one) mātrā; these two latter (i.e., ai and au) are open-close sounds (i.e., their first half or the a-element is open and the second half or i- and u- element is close) [19].

NOTE 21. At the time of the Prātiśikhyas the speech-sounds of the Old Indo-Aryan did not all retain the places of articulation which they had at the time of Pāṇini.

Table II.

Places of articulation for speech-sounds of the OIA as given in the PŚ. and the Prāṭisākhya.

	uras	kaṇṭha	mūrdhan	jīhvā-mūla	danta	danta-mūla	tālu	oṣṭha	kaṇṭha-tālu	kaṇṭha-oṣṭha	danta-oṣṭha	nāsikā	nāsikā also
PŚ.	hū, hñ, hṇ, hn, hm, hy, hr, hl, hv	a, h	ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, ṛ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṇ, ṣ ²	l t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh n, l, s		i c, ch, j, jh, ṇ, y, ṣ	u p, ph, b, bh, m, ṣ ³	e, ai	o, au	v	yamas, ṇ	ñ, ñ, ṇ, n, m
APr.		a, h, ḥ	ṛ ¹³ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, ṛ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṇ, ṣ	t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh n, l, s	r	i, e c, ch, j, jh, ṇ, y, ṣ	u, o p, ph, b, bh, m, v	ai ⁴	au ⁴			ditto
VPr.	ḥ	a, h, ḥ	ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, ṛ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṇ, ṣ	l t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh n, l, s	r	i, e c, ch, j, jh, ṇ, y, ṣ	u, o p, ph, b, bh, m, ṣ	ai	au	v		ditto
RPr.		a, h, ḥ ⁵	ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, ṛ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṇ, ṣ ḍ, ḍḥ ⁶		ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh n, l, s	i, e, ai c, ch, j, jh, ṇ, y, ṣ	u, e, au p, ph, b, bh, m, v, ṣ					ditto
TPr. ⁷		h, ḥ	ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, ṛ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṇ, ṣ		ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh n, l, s	c, ch, j, jh, ṇ, y, ṣ	p, ph, b, bh, m, ṣ			v		ditto
R.T.	ḥ	a, h, ḥ	ṛ t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, ṛ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṇ, ṣ	t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh l, s	r	i, e, ai ⁸ c, ch, j, jh, ṇ, y, ṣ	u, o, au p, ph, b, bh, m, ṣ, v				yamas, ṇ	ditto

¹ H in combination with ñ, ṇ, ŋ, u, m, y, r, l and v is pronounced in *uras*. ² The PŚ. does not know any mūrdhanya l or lh. This sound is probably a later development due to Dravidian influence (See Introduction § 29, 30). ³ The APr. does not mention the place of articulation of this sound. However the commentator informs us of its articulation. ⁴ See APr. I. 41. and its commentary on the same. ⁵ The RPr. says that h and ḥ are *aurasya* according to others (I. 18). Probably the same authorities place r, l and s in *vartasya* (I. 20). ⁶ According to the RPr. Vedamitra is the authority who considers ḍ, ḍh, ṇ and ṣ (usually known as cerebral l and lh) as the jīhvāmūlīya sounds (I. 21, 22). ⁷ The TPr. is silent about the places of articulation for vowels. ⁸ Ai does not appear in the sūtra 5 of RPr. but it might be due to the corruption of the MSS. As this sound has not been discussed elsewhere in this work we are sure that it existed here.

For details of this variation see the Table II in which views of Prāṭisākhyaś have been compared with that of the PS

Among these, typical is the case of *ṛ* and *ṛ*. According to the Prāṭisākhyaś the first is velar, while they are not unanimous about *ṛ*. But Panini considers *ṛ* to be cerebral (Siddheshwar Varma, *op cit*, pp 67). The fact that *ṛ* and *ṛ* cerebralize, according to Panini (VIII 11) as well as the Prāṭisākhyaś (RPr V 11, 20, VPr III 85, TPr VIII 6-7), the dental sounds that follow them, shows that these sounds were originally cerebral, and Panini testifies to the original state rather than the Prāṭisākhyaś which have *ṛ* as a dental or an alveolar sound

NOTE 22 *Gu* It indicates *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and *ñ*. Appending *u* to the first sound of the groups (*vargaś*) of stop consonants for indicating all the five members is a Pāṇinian device used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (*anulit sarasvatya cāpratyayaś*, I 1 69)¹. *Pu*, *tu*, *lu* and *lu* have been similarly used

NOTE 23 *Ardha mātrā tu*, etc. This couplet (PS 13) has suffered very badly in transmission, and its second half does not occur in the AP. Uvaṭa in his comments on the VPr I 73, has wrongly quoted its first half as *ardhamātrā tu lanṭhasya aīdraulārayor*. It appears that the *s a n d h y a k ṣ a r a ś* (diphthongs) *e* and *o* having lost their diphthongal character in later times² this couplet became unintelligible and gave rise to variants of perplexing nature. Weber's reading *lanṭhasyaīdraulārayor* spoils the metre, but his conjectural emendation (in translation) of *aīkāraulārayor* was a very happy suggestion and finds actual support from the Pañjikā (p 18). His reading *madhye e-aī* for *mātrā tayor* however cannot be accepted, for it has evidently arisen due to a misunderstanding

¹ It is on the basis of Pāṇini's use of *pratyāhā* as that Dr Paul Tielemans makes the statement that it is self-evident that the Aṣṭādhyāyī presupposes the Śva Sūtras and the Śva Sūtras presuppose the Aṣṭādhyāyī (*op cit* p 109). The PS can well be substituted for the Aṣṭādhyāyī in this remark

² See Note 1 in p 61

All the sandhyakṣaras¹ being long, consist of two mātrās (ṚPr. I. 16; VPr. 1. 57; TPr. I. 35; APr. I. 61). Hence from PŚ. 13 we have the quantitative distribution of the two elements of e, o and ai, au as follows :

in	e (< a + i)	a	is $\frac{1}{2}$	mātrā ¹	and i	is $1\frac{1}{2}$	mātrā
,,	o (< a + u)	a	,, $\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,, u	,, $1\frac{1}{2}$,,
,,	ai (< ā + i)	a	,, 1 ²	,,	,, i	,, 1	,,
,,	au (< ā + u)	a	,, 1	,,	,, u	,, 1	,,

NOTE 24. The Ṛk recension reads the following couplet after PŚ. 12. This does not occur in the AP. and Yaj. recensions, and none of the two commentaries comment on it. Hence we have considered it to be spurious.

*Samvṛtam mātṛikam jñeyam, vivṛtam tu dvimātṛikam ।
ghoṣā vā samvṛtāḥ sarve, aghoṣā vivṛtāḥ smṛtāḥ ॥20॥*

Tr. A samvṛta (close) sound is one mātrā long, and a vivṛta (ope) sound is two mātrās long ; voiced sounds are all samvṛta while breathed ones are vivṛta [20].

This couplet like other spurious couplets discussed above must be a borrowing from some unknown source. But the substance of the second half of the couplet occurs in the TPr. (*samvṛta-kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate, vivṛte śvāsaḥ* II. 4-5).

¹ Wackernagel (I. § 32), does not admit that all e and o in OIA were *originally* sandhya kṣaras, i.e., combination of two vowel sounds. His objection is based on e and o not arising out of actual sandhi in OIA. But the Vedic phoneticians in using the term evidently recalled the Indo-Iranian diphthongal character of e and o such as appears in Av. *vaedā* (Skt. *vēda*) and Av. *zaothra* (Skt. *hótra*), as well as e and o arising from a combination of a with and u respectively.

² The VPr. (I. 76) only among all the Prātiśākhya's expressly recognizes the fact that ai and au have one mātrā for a and one mātrā for i as well as u. From the direction as to the production of ai and au given in the APr. (I. 41) it appears that this latter work too agrees with the PŚ. But as regards the pronunciation of e and o the APr. expressly says that they have only one place of articulation (I. 40) and hence we are to understand that at the time of this Prātiśākhya, e and o no longer retained the trace of their diphthongal character which we see in the PŚ. 13. The VPr. is silent about the production of e and o. The ṚPr. in its attempt to describe their nature simply mystifies the issue (see XIII. 15-16) Hence it appears that the Prātiśākhya's in question are later than the PŚ.

NOTE 25 Next occurs the following couplet in the Rk and the Yajus recensions and it has been commented on in the Prakaśa commentary. But as it appears irrelevant in the present context and contains the term *karana* which as we have seen before is a term of later origin than Pāṇini (see Note 12) we have considered this couplet to be spurious

Svarānām ūsmanāṃ cāiva vivrtam karanam smrtam |
tebhyo'pi vivrtāv enzu tābhyām aicau tathāiva ca || (21)

Tr. Vowels and sibilants are open in enunciation, e and o are more open than they, and ai and au are still more so [21]

NOTE 26 This couplet like other spurious ones must be a borrowing from some unknown source. The substance of the first half of the couplet is available in the APr *usmanam vivrtam ca svaranam ca, I 31-32*. But according to this Prāśastikhyā, e and o as well as a are the most open sounds (*aikarāḥkṛtyor vivrtatamam tato'pyālarasya I 34-35*) and not ai, au as in the present couplet

Anusvara-yamanām ca nāsikā sthanam ucyate |
upadhmāniya ūsmā ca jihvā mūliya-nāsike |
ayogavāhā viññeyā āśraya-sthāna-bhāginah || (22)

Tr. Anusvāra and yamas have the nose for their place (of articulation), upadhmāniya, ūsman (i.e., visarjanīya), jihvāmūhya as well as nāsikyas (i.e. the anusvāra and yamas) are ayogavahas and as such they share the place of articulation of sounds on which they are dependent [22]

NOTE 26a The hemistich *anusvāra yamānām ca* etc., does not occur in the Yaj and the AP. recensions (see Introduction § 2). As anusvara and yamas have been mentioned earlier in the PŚ (1-2) we have to consider this as belonging to the original text

NOTE 27 *Anusvāra* The 'anusvāra-nāsikyah' and 'anusvarah nāsikyah' seem to have been synonymous and probably the original name for anusvāra by which the TPr (I 34; II 30, XVII 1) understands only a nasal vowel. This meaning of the term was known to the author of Pañjikā too. For he says *svaram anu bhavati ity anusvārah*, 'as it arises after the vowel it is (called) the anusvāra' (5)

The term anusvāra-nāsikya has sometimes been shortened also simply as *nāsikya* or *nāsika*. But this shortening seems to have created some misunderstanding. For example, in the APr. (I. 26)¹ and in the RPr. (I. 20) *nāsikya* has been used to denote sounds pronounced directly from the nose (*i.e.* yamas and the anusvāra)² as opposed to *anunāsikas* (nasal stops)³ which are pronounced in the mouth as well as in the nose (APr. I. 27 and P. I. 1. 8). But in spite of such an use of *nāsikya* some interpolators and commentators of the Prātiśākhya have taken anusvāra and *nāsikya*⁴ to be two different sounds (VPr. VIII⁵ 25, 27, 29; Uvaṭa on VPr. I. 74; Māhīṣeya on TPr. I. 18). But curiously enough in his commentary to the RPr. I. 20, Uvaṭa has explained *nāsikya* as the term including yamas and the anusvāra as well as *nāsikya*.⁶ Though the later writers on Vedic phonetics at times differed from him about the meaning of the term anusvāra, Pāṇini understood by this a nasalized vowel. For he explains the anusvāra as a nasal sound (PŚ, 14) and gives directions as to how it should be correctly produced (PŚ, 15b-16a). The term 'nāsika' which is used to denote a nasalized vowel in the Prātiśākhya has also been used in the PŚ, (14b). Among the western philologists a controversy went on for some time about the correct pronunciation of anusvāra; but

¹ The APr. never uses the term anusvāra. It is from the commentator that we learn that the *nāsikya* is equivalent to yama and anusvāra (see Whitney on APr. I. 26).

² Similar is the view of Patañjali. On Pāṇini I. 1. 8, he says *atha mukha-grahanaṁ kīm artham? nāsikā-vacano' nunāsika itīyatya ucyamāne yamānusvārāṇām eva prasajyeta. mukha-grahane punaḥ kriyamāne na doṣo bhavati* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 60).

³ The TPr. sometimes takes *nāsikya* in the sense of yama alone (XXI. 12, 14).

⁴ The view that *anunāsika* is equivalent to a nasalised vowel arose probably from a confusion of this word with a somewhat similarly sounded term *ānunāsikya* (=nasality) as used in the Mahābhāṣya, *yathā tṛtīyās tathā pañcamā...adhiko guṇaḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, I, p. 61, line 18, 29). Patañjali is clearly against such a view (see Note 2 above). Among the old authorities who seem at times to identify *anunāsika* with a nasal vowel is APr. (I. 53). But the relevant sūtra has probably been corrupt. TPr. once understands by *anunāsika* nasal stops and anusvāra (II. 30. See also III. 129; IV. 3, 9, 13, 51, 90; TPr. V. 26-28, 31; X. 11(?), XV. 1. 6; XXII. 14).

⁵ Weber considers this chapter of the VPr. as a later addition (*opp. cit.*, p. 65).

⁶ *ke te nāsikyāḥ? ity asyām apekṣāyām āha nāsikyā yamānusvārāḥ* (ed. Sāmaśramī, p. 80).

among them all Whitney, in spite of the bewildering opinions of the Prāthākyas or rather the commentators of such works, could correctly guess the true pronunciation (on TPr II, 30). Wackernagel however considered him to be mistaken¹ and Thumb² did not venture to give any opinion on the matter.

NOTA 28. *Ujāthamānānamācācā*. This hemistich does not occur in the Rk and AP recensions. Still upadhi nāmā and visarga being mentioned in the PŚ, 2,³ we can reasonably expect the treatment of their mode of articulation in the Śikṣā. Hence we have considered this hemistich as a genuine part of the PŚ (see Introduction, § 2b). One of the reasons why it came to be ignored in the Rk recension is probably to be sought in the varying later uses of the term *uśman* which in this context surely means visarga⁴ or the final aspiration preceded by a vowel (-h). This term meaning visarga as well as final *h* occur in the Rk Pr. (I, 22; II, 4). In the VPr (I, 54), the VPr (I, 20), the Rkāttra (16) as well as in some other part of the RPr (I, 13) the term *uśman* has been used to indicate aspirated stops. It seems that by the earlier *śākyas* visarga as well as aspirated stops, due to their almost similar nature, was included in the term *uśman*. Panini, however, does not use this term because in his grammar, *pratyāhāras* evidently served the purpose. By this term the TPr however means *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *h*, *ṣ* and *ḥ* (I, 9), and curiously enough the RPr also means by the term same sounds in I, 12; and in the Chapter VIII (considered to be a late addition by Weber) of the VPr we understand by the term *ś*, *ś*, *ṣ* and *h* (*śūtra* 22, ed. Weber).

NOTA 29. *Ayogarāha*. This term has been variously explained, and Weber felt a difficulty over its correct interpretation

¹ Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I (§ 223), p. 257. In the opinion of Prof. Lüders the source of the TPr is anything but a nasal vowel (see Die Aryan Philol., p. 51).

² Handbuch des Sanskrits, § 54.

³ This couplet occurs in all the recensions of the PŚ, and must have formed a part of the original work.

⁴ Weber, Ind. Stud., IV, pp. 112, 225 also VIII, p. 12.

(*op. cit.*, p. 354). According to the Pañjikā it means (15) *na vidyate yogaḥ varṇāntareṇa yeṣāṃ te ayogavāhāḥ*: Those sounds which do not combine with other sounds are ayogavāhas. This definition does not convey any meaning to us. Uvaṭa says *akārādinā varṇa-samāmnāyena saṃhitāḥ santaḥ ete vahanty ātmalābhaṃ prāpnuvanty ayogavāhāḥ* (on VPr. VIII. १): They are ayogavāhas because they attain their selves when combined with sounds like *a* (i.e. vowels). Similar is the view of the commentator of the Pratiññā Sūtra on II. 1 (see Benares ed.). This explanation too does not satisfy us and seems to be rather fanciful. Patañjali who is earlier and more authoritative than the writers mentioned above defines the term as *yad ayuktā vahanty anupadiṣṭāś ca śrūyante* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 28): 'Those sounds which are heard even though they have not been included in the Varṇa-samāmnāya (or the so-called Śiva-sūtras).' Besides these there are other interpretations of the term by late authorities, but it will scarcely be of any use to discuss them. The explanation given by Patañjali can be followed without any scruple.

*Alābu-vīṇā-nirghoṣo'danta-mūlyah svarānugah |
anusvāras tu kartavyo nityaṃ hroḥ śa-ṣa-seṣu ca ||* (23)

Tr. The anusvāra after the vowels not pronounced at the root of the teeth, should be made sonorous like the sound of an *alābu-vīṇā*, but when it stands before *h*, *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* this pronunciation is compulsory [23].

NOTE 30. All the recensions except the AP. contain the above couplet. The anusvāra being a frequent sound in Vedas and the classical Skt. it appears very much likely that Pāṇini gave attention to it. Besides this for interpreting *śaṣaseṣu ca* we must invoke the help of Pāṇini's Paribhāṣā *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* (I. 1. 66). This also may be taken to show that this couplet belongs to the original PS.

NOTE 31. From this passage we derive a hint about an alternative pronunciation which the anuvāsa had before stops. This alternative pronunciation has been provided for by Pāṇini in his grammar (anuvāsa a-cya pāṇini m. 16, cā pādāntara, VIII, 1, 38, 39)¹ and it is equivalent to the pronunciation of what according to Prof. S. K. Chatterji is a 'reduced' nasal occurring also in the 1-*te* Māhā-*īdya* (Aryan *op. cit.*, p. 360).

NOTE 52. *Nirghoṣa* is doubtless to be taken as *nirghoṣa* + a sentence, etc.

NOTE 33 The text couplet occurs in the RK recension only.

Amurrate erigibden tu eadene efl. 32-derige
deir eoff au tu erigibni, 33 eadene 32-derige (21)

Tr. In the amended list, a vertical line should separate the two lists and the two lists should be separated as a whole by a line only. (21)

Note 34. This couplet is taken from the Loma 16 (III 7) where it is fully relevant. The reading established in the Bk. recension is evidently corrupt. Due to this corrupt reading Weber had difficulty over the passage (cf. cit., p. 501). The following couplet occurs next in the Bk. recension. In the Yaj. it is no. 21. The Prākāśa comments on it though the Paṭyā passes over it, so the version of AP does not know it.

Մշտցիւ չափս հարէ քան զամբասանացն ու զաւրիւնս 1
 Եւ ի խառն զամբասանացն տեսնէ արարչի իշխանս 2 (25)

Tr. As the first carries over into the second (two rows of) teeth taking care lest they should either be dropped or bitten so should one pronounce the (Vedc) speech sounds lest they should be dropped (i.e. elided) or differentiated (i.e. mispronounced) [23].

There is pun in the words *jafana* and *blada*. The fact that the couplet mentions the dropping of varuṣa in the Vedic recitation shows that the upper limit to the date of the composition of the couplet is c. 200 B. C. when the

¹ The brushed fall well incorporates other than *d, g, x* and *h* is charged to the reserve (homogeneous nasal sounds) of the full wing sound: the possible homogeneous sounds in the above case are *h, n, m, n* or *m*. The rule is optional when the brushed star is at the end of a word.²

tendency to drop intervocal stops as in the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī or the late phase of Sauraseni,¹ was already beginning. This couplet occurs in the Yv. Ś. (195) and the Māṇḍ. Ś. (43) too. We are not sure whether it originally belonged to the Yv. Ś. or the Māṇḍ. Ś., but it is sure that the couplet did not form a part of the PŚ. which may go back to a time earlier than 500 B. C. (see Introduction, § 36).

NOTE 35. The following couplet occurs next in the Ṛk recension and in the Yāj. recension it is no. 6. Of the two commentaries, only the Prakāśa touches it. AP. omits it.

Yathā Saurāṣṭrikā nārī takrā[~] ity abhibhāṣate |
evaṃ raṅgāḥ prayoktavyāḥ khearā[~] iva khedayā || (26)

The couplet as it stands in the Ṛk and the Yāj. recension and in the Prakāśa seems to be corrupt. The true reading may be that of the Nār. Ś. The Māṇḍ. Ś. and the Yv. Ś. gives the couplet in a developed form.² The purport of the couplet in all the above different forms is that the raṅga is the nasalization of a vowel.

NOTE 36. Next occur the four following couplets in the Ṛk recension only.

Raṅga-varṇān prayuñjīran no graset pūrvam akṣaram |
dārgha-svaraṃ prayuñjīyāt paścān nāsikyam ācaret || (27)

Tr. In pronouncing the raṅga sound one should not swallow up the preceding sound; the preceding vowel should be uttered long and then the nasal sound should be uttered [27].

This couplet occurs in different Śikṣās. It is difficult to say where the couplet originally stood,³ but it is sure that it came in the PŚ. from another source.

Hṛdaye caikamātras tu ardha-mātras tu mūrdhani |
nāsikāyāṃ tathārdhaṃ ca raṅgasyaiva dvimātratā || (28)

¹ See the present writer's 'Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Sauraseni,' Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, XXIII (1933).

In the Nār. Ś. (II. 4. 9) this couplet occurs with variants *nāry arāṇi ity, raṅgaḥ prayoktavyo Nāradaśya matam yathā*. In the Māṇḍ. Ś. (112) it occurs with the variants: *nārī arā ity raṅgāḥ prayoktavyāḥ nakāra-parivivarjitā*. The Yv. Ś. (190) however reads it almost like the Māṇḍ. Ś.

³ This couplet occurs in a slight different form in the Yv. Ś. (189) and the Lomaśi Ś. (I. 8). The Māṇḍ. Ś. 110 can also be compared with this.

*Hṛdayād utkaṭe tiṣṭhan kāmasyena samanusrāvan |
mārdavam ca dvī-mātram ca jaghanvā¹ 2 iti nīdarśanam || (29)*

Tr In the heart (i.e. chest) there should be one matra and half a matra in the roof of the mouth and another half in the nostril. These are two mātrās of a raṅga sound [28].¹

A raṅga sound rising from (lit. existing in) the heart (i.e. chest) has a sound like that of the bell-metal (bronze) (and it has) softness and is two mātrās long. Its example is jaghanvā² 2 [29].²

*Madhye tu kampaṃ kampa ubhau parśvau samo bhavet |
sarangam kampaṃ rathir³ cti nīdarśanam || (30)*

Tr The kampa should be male in the middle and its two sides should be made equal and the kampa should be accompanied by a raṅga. Its example is rathira [30].

NOTE 37 The meaning of the passage is not clear. This couplet appearing only in the Rk recension and not being relevant with couplets which are undisputedly genuine we have considered it spurious. This like otherspurious passages, occur probably in some text not yet brought to light.

NOTE 38 Next occurs the following couplet which has not been commented on in the Pañjikā though other recensions include it.

*Evam varnāḥ prayatītya nātyaktā na ca pīditāḥ |
samyag-varṇaprayogena brahma loka mahīyate || (31)*

Tr The speech sounds should be pronounced like this. On uttering them in the proper manner one attains elevation in the world of Brahman [31].

NOTE 38a This couplet occurs in the Nar S (II 8 31) and also in the Mand S (11) and might have originally belonged to any of these works. It does not fit in with those stanzas of the PS which occur in all recensions and are undoubtedly genuine.

¹ With the above couplet may be compared the Iomaśi S I 7. This passage seems to be corrupt.

² This couplet occurs in the Nar S (II 4 8) with some variation. In the Maṇḍ S (113) too this occurs in a varying form. Whatever be the true reading of the couplet it is sure the PS in its original form did not contain it.

NOTE 39. In the Yaj. recension the above couplet is succeeded by the following one :

*Abhyāsārthe drutām vṛttiṃ prayogārthe tu madhyamām ।
śiṣyāṇām upadeśārthe kuryād vṛttiṃ vilambitām ॥ (31a)*

Tr. In memorizing the Vedas one should make his reading quick but in applying the same in rituals the recitation should be of medium speed, while at the time of instructing pupils, the Vedic passages should be recited slowly [31a].

NOTE 39a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 6, 21) and Yv. Ś. (54) and in a slightly different form it occurs also in the Māṇḍ. Ś. (3). It seems that the couplet occurred originally in the Nār. Ś.

NOTE 40. The next six couplets occur in the Rk recension only. They are being taken up serially.

*Gitī śīghrī śiraḥ-kampī tathā likhita-pāṭhakakḥ ।
Anarthajño 'lpa-kaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakādhamāḥ ॥ (32)
Mādhuryam akṣara-vyaktiḥ padacchedas tu susvaraḥ ।
dhairyaṃ laya-samartham ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhake guṇāḥ ॥ (33)*

Tr. Those who recite the Veda in a singsong manner, (too) quickly, with a nodding of the head, use a written text at the time of recitation do not know the meaning of passages read, and have a low voice, are six kinds of bad reciters. Sweetness, clearness, separation of words, right accent, patience and ability to observe time are six merits in a reciter [32-33].

NOTE 40a. These two couplets occur in the Yv. Ś. (198-199) and seem to have occurred there for the first time.

*Saṅkīṭam bhītam udghuṣṭam avyaktam anuṇāsikam ।
kāka-svaram śirasigaṃ tathā sthāna-vivarjitam ॥ (34)*

NOTE 41. In the Nār. Ś. (I. 3. 11-12) this couplet together with another enumerates the fourteen faults of the Vedic chant. A translation of the two couplets are given below.

Shyness, fear, extreme loudness, indistinctness, undue nasalisation, repressed tone, undue cerebralization, non-observance of the place of articulation (in general) and (proper) accent [34], and

harshness, creating undue separation between words, uneven tone, hastiness, want of due palatalisation : these are the fourteen faults in the Vedic chant.

NOTE 41a These two couplets occur also in the Yv S (20-23) but they relate there to faults of recitation (i.e. 1/1 : 1/2) in recitation of the faults in chant (gīti doṣa) of the Yv S. But as the couplets in this latter work have been preceded by the expression *bharanti ei trī śloka* they are surely quoted there from some earlier work. It is probable that the couplets in question occurred in the Yv S first.

*Upāṁśu dāṣṭup traritam nirastam
 rilambitam gadgaditam prajitam ।
 nūpīḥitam grastā piddā śraṇam ei
 cāden na dīnam nā tu śīmunīśyam ॥ (35)*

*Pratīh pāthen nityam urīh śhuten ।
 svareṇa śūḍula-rutōpamenā ।
 māḥyam dūcī lantī gītenā cūcā
 cāl rāḥcī samīḥitā śānubhena ॥ (36)*

*Taram tu rulyat sarane tṣṭay
 śīc-jatam tīc ei śīda ś rayojyam ।
 mayura-hamśānyabīhīś-śīranam
 tulyenā nīlenā śīrah śhuten ॥ (37)*

Tr. One should not recite a Vedic passage in undulating tone between one's teeth quickly, haltingly slowly with a hoarse voice in a sing-song manner with repressed voice omitting (occasionally) words and syllables and in a plaintive voice [35]

In the morning (the Vedic student) should read (mantras) with a voice from the chest, which should be (as deep tone) as the growl of a tiger. In the midday he should read it with voice from his throat which should be like that of a *cakravāṭa*. In the third śūma (i.e. the evening offering) he should recite it in the highest pitch from the roof of his mouth and his voice should be like that of a peacock, goose or cuckoo [36-37]

NOTE 41b These couplets occur also in the Mān S (11-12) but we are not sure whether they originally belonged to this work.

*Aco sprṣṭā yinas tv īṣan nama-sprstāh śālīh smrtīh ।
 śeqah sprṣṭa hīlīh prōtī nībōhī ānupralanatah ॥ (38)*

Tr. The vowels are without touch, semi-vowels slightly touched, ś, ṣ and s are half-touched sounds, and the remaining consonants are touched (i.e. stops) [38].

NOTE 42. The degree of touch in this connexion is with regard to the cavity of the mouth or rather the space between the two parts of the mouth which touch or approach each other before speech-sounds are produced.

Ñamo' anumāsikā nahro nādino ha-jhaṣaḥ smṛtāḥ ।

i-an-nādā yaṇ-yaṣaś ca śrāśinas tu kha-phādayaḥ ॥ (39)

Īṣac-chrāsāṃś caro vidyād gor-dhāmailat pracakṣate ।

Tr. *Ñam* (i.e. ñ, ù, m, ṇ, and n) are produced through nose, and h except when it is combined with r ; and *jhas* (i.e., gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh) are voiced, semivowels (y, r, l, v) and *jas* (i.e., j, b, g, ḍ, d) slightly voiced, the group beginning with kh and ph (i.e., kh, ch, ṭh, th and ph) breathed, *car* (i.e., k, c, ṭ, t, p) slightly breathed. This has been called the basis of speech [39-40a].

NOTE 43. The hemistich 39a seems to have created difficulty from very early times. The Pañjikā (19) explains the passage first with the reading *ñamo* and this seems to be the right reading. The second reading discussed in it could not have been original in spite of its quoting Śaunaka's Rk-Prātiśākhya.

NOTE 44. In the Amoghanandinī, Ś. 40, we have *hakāro rephaṣaṃyukto nādir bhavati nityaśaḥ* : 'h combined with r is always as a voiced sound. The true nature of the *nahro* has not been marked by the author of the Pañjikā. He seems to have been misled by a wrong apprehension of the testimony of the Amoghanandinī Ś.

NOTE 45. The terms *nādi*, *iṣannāda*, *śrāśī*, *īṣac-chāsa* stand for voiced a-pirate, voiced non-aspirated, unvoiced aspirate, unvoiced non-aspirated respectively. The term *iṣan-nāda*

practically mean having *śrāsa* as well as *nāda* or *ubhayatmalā* i.e., *śrāsa-nāddtmaka*. Hence in the RPr (XIII 2) we have terms like *śrāsa*, *nāda* and *śrāsa-nāda*. The TPr (II. 9) however uses *śrāsanāda* in case of *ha-kāra* and seems to describe it as a sound midway between voiced and unvoiced (II. 6) and at the same time calls it voiced (I 13).

NOTE 46 The following couplet occurs in the 1st recension (33). The 2nd recension gives only the first half of it.

Dal śiputrah Pāṇinir yasenc'dam vyahrtaṃ bhuciḥ ■ (10)
ratnabhūtaṃ uḍum śāstram prthivyām sampra āśīlam (101)

Tr By Pāṇini, the son of Dikṣi, who has promulgated in this world this science which is as it were a jewel has also revealed it to the world (for the first time) [10-401]

NOTE 46a The P⁵ has been called the *māldjama* in the Indian tradition (S Varma, op cit, p 5). This spurious verse which may be very old seems to follow this. There is scarcely any doubt about the importance attached to phonetics by the ancient Hindus. Patañjali too stresses the importance of the subject in the following terms: *tebhyas tatra āśīd na laraṇḍnu* ; *radānānebhya vai līlā śabdā upadīyante* (ed Kielhorn Vol I p 5). Those who are acquainted with the places of articulation and manner of adjusting vocal organs accordingly were taught the Vedic text.

NOTE 47 The following nine couplets occur in the 2nd recension only.

Chandah pādau tu vedasya hastau kalpo'tha pathyate ■
gyotisām ayanam cal sur nirul taṃ śrotram ucyate ■ (11)
Śikṣā ghrāṇaṃ tu vedasya mukhaṃ vyāl arāṇaṃ smṛtaṃ ■
tasmat sāṅgam adhītyāna brahmaloke mahīyate ■ (12)

Tr (First) Metres which is the two legs (of the Veda) is read and then the Kalpa which is its two hands. The Science of the Movement of luminaries (Astronomy) is its eyes, and the Nirukta is called its ears, the Śikṣā is the nose of the Veda, and Grammar is its mouth. It is for this reason that one studying the Veda with all its limbs (i.e. accessory studies) attains a high position in the realm of Brahman [41-42]

*Udāttam ākhyāti vṛṣo'ṅgulīnām
 pradeśinī-mūla-niviṣṭa-mūrdhā |
 upānta-madhye svaritam dhṛtaś ca
 kaniṣṭhikāyām anudattam eva || (43)*

Tr. The top of the thumb when held at the root of the index finger indicates the udātta tone, and held at the middle of the ringfinger (upānta or last but one) and at (the middle of) the little finger it indicates respectively svarita and anudātta [43].

*Udāttam pradeśinīm vidyāt pracayam madhyato'ṅgulim |
 nihataṃ tu kaniṣṭhikāyām svaritōpakaniṣṭhikām || (44)*

Tr. The index finger should be known as the udātta, the middle finger pracaya, the little finger as nihata and the ringfinger as svarita tone [44].

NOTE 47a. These two couplets have not been traced in any available Sikṣā.

*Antōdāttam ādyudāttam udāttam anudāttam nīca-svaritam |
 madhyōdāttam svaritam dyudāttam tryudāttam
 iti nava-pada-śayyā || (45)*

*Agniḥ somaḥ pra vo vīryam haviṣāṃ
 svar Bṛhaspatir Indrā-Bṛhaspatī |*

*Agnir ity antōdāttam, soma ity ādyudāttam, prēty
 udāttam, va ity anudāttam, vīryam nīca-svaritam || (46)*

*Haviṣām madhyōdāttam, svar iti svaritam, Bṛhaspatir
 iti dyudāttam, Indrā-Bṛhaspatī iti tryudāttam || (47)*

Tr. There are nine kinds of accents in padas: antōdātta, ādyōdātta, udātta, anudātta, nīca-svarita, madhyōdātta, svarita, dyudātta, tryudātta. Examples of these are *Agniḥ, Somaḥ, pra, vo, vīryāṃ, haviṣā, svar, Bṛhaspatīḥ, Indrā-Bṛhaspatīḥ, (Agniḥ, Somaḥ, prā, vo, vīryāṃ, haviṣā, svar, Bṛhaspatīḥ, Indrā-Bṛhaspatīḥ)* [45-47].

NOTE 47b. This passage with slight variation occurs in the Nār. Ś. (II. 7 5. 6) and seems to be quite relevant there. It is almost certain that the Rk recension took it from there.

*Anudātta hr̥di pūcya mūrdhny udātta udahrtah |
scaritah larna-mūliyah, sircācye pracayah smṛtīh ||* (48)

Tr Anudatta is to be known in the chest (*lit* heart), udatta at the root of the ear, and pracaya in the entire mouth

NOTE 47c This passage has not been traced in any of the available Śikṣās. Perhaps it has been taken from some Ś which has not yet come to light [19]

*Cāsa tu radate matram det-matram te ca cayaśah |
śil hī rauti tri-mātram tu nal ulas te ardha-mātral am ||* (49)

Tr The cāsa gives out one matra and the crow two matras the peacock three mātṛas and the mongoose only half of a matra [40]

NOTE 47d This passage occurs in the Lomaś Ś (VIII 9) the RPr (XIII 20) and with slight variation in the Y Ś (15 16) and in the Manu Ś (139), but it seems to have occurred first in some of these Śikṣās and not in the PŚ

NOTE 48 The following two couplets occur in the AP, Itk and Yaj recensions and the Prakāśa comments on them

*Kutīrthād āgatam dagdham ajararham ca bhaṣitam |
na tasya paramol so'sti pāpaher na līdrīyat ||* (50)
*Sutīrthād āgatam ryaṭ tam sṛdmnayyām suryavasthitam |
susarcena surakṛtena prayuktam brahma rājate r (f 1)*

Tr In the repetition of that which has come from a bad ācārya, that which is indistinct (*lit* burnt), mispronounced from the faulty text there is no deliverance from its demerit as from the snake like sin [50]

But in repeating with good accent and voice (*lit* mouth) that which has come from a good acārya and is distinct, from the good text and is well established, the Veda shines [51]

NOTE 48a These two couplets occur in the Nur Ś (II 8 10 11) and the Maṇḍ Ś (100, 153). It seems that they occurred for the first time in the Nur Ś

NOTE 49 In the Yaj and AP recensions the following couplets occur after the passages given above

*Na l arālo na lambōṣṭho nāryakto nānunāśī ah |
gadgado baddhahkṛś ca prayogān taktum arhati ||* (51a)

Tr. One ought not to repeat mantras with teeth shown, lips unduly protruded and with indistinct, unduly nasalised and half choked-up voice and immobile tongue [51a].

NOTE 49a. This couplet occurs in the NŚ. (II. 8. 12), the Māṇḍ. Ś. (156) and the Yv. Ś. (25). It seems to have occurred originally in any of these.

NOTE 50. The following couplet occurs in the Rk recension and the Pñj comments on it. Though the Prakāśa quotes it we are not sure whether the author reads it in the text of the Sikṣā. (For further notes on this point see below.)

*Mantra hīnaḥ svarato varṇato vā
mithyā prayukto na tam artham āha |
sa vāg-vajro yajamānaṃ hinasti
yathēndrasatruḥ svarato 'parādhāt || (52)*

Tr. A mantra uttered either with a defective accent or pronunciation is badly done and it does not carry the proper sense. And it is like a thunderbolt of speech and kills the yajamāna just as 'Indrasatruḥ' did on account of its wrong accent [52].

NOTE 50a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 1. 5) and the Amoghanandinī Ś. (122). Besides this the couplet occurs in the Mahābhāgya with a variant *duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ* for *mantra hīnaḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 2).

NOTE 51. The following couplet occurs next and in the Rk recension only.

*Avākṣaram anāyusyaṃ visvaram vyādhi-pīditam |
akṣatā(ra?)-śastra-rūpeṇa vajraṃ(?) patati mastake || (53)*

Tr. (When a mantra is) deficient in a syllable it tends to diminish life, and (when it is) lacking in proper accent it makes the reciter troubled with illness, and the syllable (wrongly treated) will strike one at the head as a thunderbolt [53].

NOTE 51a. This corrupt couplet has not been traced anywhere. It may be a late composition in imitation of the preceding couplet.

NOTE 52. The two following couplets occur next in the Rk recension and there only.

*Hasta-hīnaṃ yo'dhīte svара-varṇa-vivarjitaṃ |
Rg-Yajur-Sāmabhir dagdho viyonim adhigacchati || (54)*

Hastena icedam yo'dhīte scara-varnārtha-samyutam |
Rg-Yajuk-Sāmabhih pūto brahma-loke mahīyate || (55)

Tr If anybody reads (the Veda) without a show of hands and does not observe proper accents and places of articulation Rk, Yajus and Saman burn him and (on death) he attains rebirth as an inferior animal [51]

And a person who reads the Veda with a show of hands, observes proper accent and places of articulation and knows the meaning of what he reads is purified by the Rk, Yajus and the Saman and is placed high in the realm of Brahman [53]

NOTE 52a These two couplets with slight variation occur in the Yr S (10 41) and the Mand S (31 32, 33 34) It is possible that the Rk recension has adapted them from any of these

NOTE 53 The two following couplets occur in the Yaj and the Rk recensions and have been commented on by the Pañjika and the Prakaśa

Samkaraḥ sāmkarīm prādaḥ Dāksī-putrāya dhūmate |
vānmayebhyaḥ samāhṛtya deṣam iācam iti sthūtiḥ || (56)
Yenāsara-samāmnāyam adhigamya Maheśvarat |
Artsnam vyākaranam prokṭam tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ || (57)

Tr Drawing the divine words from the entire domain of speech (vānmaṇḍa) Sankara gave this, his science (Sāmkarīm) to the wise son of Dāksi This is its basis [56]

Homage to that Pāṇini who having received the traditional lore of speech sounds (Varna samāmnāya) from Śiva has told us the entire grammar [57]

NOTE 53a These two couplets do not occur in the AP rec. and 57 is wanting in the Prk As to the authorship of the so called Śivasūtras, which is clearly mentioned in them, there is a great divergence of opinion But it is possible that even if Pāṇini was not their author he was at least responsible for their present form (for details see Introduction, §§ 12 15)

NOTE 54 The two following couplets occur in the Rk recension only

Yena dhautā girāḥ pūṣām vimalarā śabda-īrībhik |
tamaś cāpñāṇajam bhinnam tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ || (58)
Apñānāndhasya lokasya jñānāñjāna-śalākayā |
cakṣur unmīlitaṃ yena tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ || (59)

Tr. Homage to that Pāṇini who has washed off the human speech with pure water of words and has pierced through the gloom of ignorance [58].

Homāge to Pāṇini who has opened with the collyrium pencil of knowledge the eyes of people blind with ignorance [59].

NOTE 54a. These two couplets, have not been traced in any available Śikṣā, but the second one seems very much to be an adaptation of the opening śloka of a not very old tract called the Guru-gītā. In the latter work we have *Srī-gurave* for *Pāṇinaye*.

NOTE 55. The next couplet occurs in the Yaj. and the Ṛk recensions and both the commentaries have touched it. But AP. does not contain it.

*Trinayana-mukha-niṣṣṛtām imāṃ
ya iha paṭhet prayataḥ sadā dvijaḥ
sa bhavati paśu-putra-kīrtimān
sukham atulaṃ ca samaśnute divi divīti ॥ (60)*

Tr. Those among the twice-born who always devoutly read this (work) which has come out of the mouth of Śiva (*lit.* three-eyed one) obtains cattle, progeny, fame and will attain happiness in heaven [60].

NOTE 56. This couplet again ascribes the whole work to Śiva, though from some of the spurious couplets we have already learnt this. But the fact that this work goes in the name of Pāṇini and not in that of Śiva—in which case it would have had a name like the Śaiva or Śiva Śikṣā, seems to give strong grounds for considering this story as an apocryphal one.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page xii	Line 23	for and	read before
	24	„ it	„ the Yaj
xvi	9	„ re	„ re-
	19	„ more than	„ nearly
	22	„	omit twenty
	26	„ eleven	read ones
	29	after the fullstop read :	

In his commentary to the PŚ. (Benares, Samvat 1990) Pandit Kāliprasād Miśra thinks that Rk. 31, 37, 48, 54 and 55 are spurious (p. 27), while another recent editor Pandit Rudraprasād Sarmā in his commentary to the same work (Chowkhamba, Benares, 1937) considers Rk. 28, 33, 34, 44, 54 and 55 to be spurious (see his comments on these).

xx	line 18	for was	read were
xxii	6	„ followiug	„ following
xxiii	11	from the bottom	
		for lie	„ lies
xxvi	footnote line 2		„ op. cit., pp. 18-19.
	„ „ 3		„ svaraśo
xxix	„ „ 9	for (op. cit.)	„ (Pānini and the Veda, p. 109).
xxx	„ „ 1	after Sāyaṇa	„ (Introduction to the R̥gveda- bh ā ṣ ya, ed. Peter Peterson p. 56).
xxxiv	line 2		„ (op. cit., p. 12).
xxxviii	footnote last line		„ 4. contra
xxxix	line 16	for the Pr.	„ the TPr.

Add to the footnote 3 the following :

and Liebh, Zur Einführung, pp 30 ff. and A.B. Keith, A Hist. of Skt. Lit., pp. xxi, xxxi.

Page xlix line 12 after Pingala read :

Mîtra evidently under the influence of the commentary Śikṣāprākāśa ascribes the PŚ. to Pingala (pp. 1 and 27). Tripāṭhi too does the same (p. 30). Śarmā however refutes the view and quotes Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his support (p. 23).

Last line after the fullstop add . See also Mangal Dev Shastri, RPr., Vol. III, Appendix III (pp. 329-41).

lvii line 24 after the fullstop add See Mangal Dev Shastri, RPr., Vol. III, p 111.

lviii Add to the footnote 2 the following

It came to my notice afterwards that Bhāṭṭojidikṣita ascribes the Rktaṇtra-vyākaraṇa to Auduṣṛaṇ. In his Sabdakaustubha he writes तथा षट्कृतस्य व्याकरणस्य द्वादशोऽन्यस्य प्रणेता षोडशजिरेषि षष्ठ्ययत् अनन्यान्वयसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वस्य गुण इति (Chowkhamba ed., p. 113).

lxi line 3 read Piṅgala's Chandaḥ-sūtras.

lxii-lxvi for Hemistiches read Hemistiches

9 line 9 for गिरस्तः ,, गिरस्तासां

" 6 " जाता ,, प्राताः

10 footnote 5 read 'omit'

11 line 11 ,, पाययस्याने ययोस्तौ

12 " 15 ,, कर्त्तृप्रयोग्यानि करणत्वात्

footnote 5 ,, 'omit'

13 " 5 ,, 'omit' and 'hacc'

15 line 16 ,, किमर्थे च

17 footnote 7 ,, 'omits'

30 line 11 for इका ,, इकारं

41 " 13 " यत्रोकार ,, ययोकार

42 " 12 ,, शदितं

Page 53 Line 14 after pp. 99 ff. read See also Tripāṭhī,
p. 5 and Miśra,
pp. 28 ff.

65 last line after to PŚ. read :

Tripāṭhī suggests that *dvīḥ-sprṣṭaḥ* and not *duḥ-sprṣṭha* is the correct reading and quotes the Varṇaratna-pradīpikā (15) to support this view (pp. 5 f.). Śarmā contradicts him and considers the reading of the passage in the printed text (in the ŚS.) of the work to be defective (see p. 4). Miśra refers to the above-mentioned passage and quotes another view which reckons weakly pronounced *y* and *v* as *durḥsprṣṭa* (p. 4). The RPr. (XIII. 3) however takes *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* as *duḥsprṣṭa*, but Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri translates *duḥsprṣṭā-karaṇa* as imperfect contact (p. 95 of his RPr., Vol. III).

58 After the Note 15 add the following :

Udātta, anudātta and svarita arise from the peculiar conditions of the body called *āyāma*, *viśrambha* and *ākṣepa* respectively. For the definition of these terms see Miśra, p. 7.

59 line 20 read 'dantamūla'

Add to the Note 17 the following :

Śarmā considers the reading *nāsikoṣṭhau* to be wrong and corrects it to *nāsikaṣṭhau* (p. 7). The grammatical objection raised by him against the accepted reading is valid but the laxity in this matter may be an original feature of the text which was written in the Chāndasa style (*vide* Introduction, 26).

line 4 from the bottom read 'ukārādi paraṃ padam.'

60 ,, 1 for (out of ūṣman) is followed by read :

due to sandhi (*prasandhāna*) is followed (in *pausa*) by.

line 3 for coming read : but in other cases the final *o* is

,, 7 after second couplet insert : in its present form.

Page 63 *Line 12 after the fullstop read* See Mîśra on the couplet 18 (p 10)

line 6 from the bottom, after the foolstop add

Mîśra has very intelligently ascertained the correct reading (see p 11, ll 18 19) Tripitthi too has correctly taken *elaraikarayor* as the correct reading but his interpretation of the passage is misleading (p 11, ll 1 ff)

64 *line 15 read* vivṛta (open)

„ 21 add after the fullstop the following

Mîśra thinks that the samvṛta sound mentioned in this couplet relates to half *e* and half *o* (i *e*, short *e* and short *o*) and refers to Patañjali's *Māhātmya* (pp 11 f)

line 6 in the footnote read i and u respectively

65 *„ 15 add* See Taitt Pr, II, 13 14, R L Turner in Asutosh Moolerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, III, p 337 Jules Bloch, L Indo Aryen, p 33

Last line, add the following

As Sarma comments on the Rk recension (p 10) he feels a difficulty about the interpretation of the passage and invokes the authority of the Sabdaratna but such a difficulty does not arise when we read *upadhmanya*, etc, between the two hemistichs of Rk 22

66 *line 14 after* nasikya *add*

(see Mangal Dev Shastri, Rgveda Pratishukhya, Vol III, pp 151 52, Notes on I 41)

line 4 from the bottom omit T Pr

„ 3 from the bottom add the following

See also Mangal Dev Shastri, *op cit*, pp 143 44 (Notes on p 20)

67 *line 4 after the fullstop add*

But in this matter Macdonell follows Whitney, see 'A Vedic Grammar for Students, §§ 10f 29b, 39

Page 68 last line add the following :

The Alābu-vīṇā used in modern Indian music was probably invented after the Gupta period, but this should not bring down the date of the above passage. For Alābū-vīṇā mentioned in this passage was in all likelihood a very primitive instrument like our modern *ekatāra* or one-stringed vīṇā quite different from its late development, the modern vīṇā. Its very crudity speaks for its great age.

- 69 line 12 read 'dvir oṣṭyau' and 'yathaukārau.'
 ,, 20 for does ,, do
 ,, 21 ,, 'daṁṣṭrābhyām'

70 2 after the fullstop add the following :

From what Miśra says we understand that *patana* (dropping) of letters means spirantizing them and *bheda* (or differentiating) is de-aspiration of them (अतोवार्जवेणोच्चारणे वर्णा मुक्ता भवन्ति न सस्यग् अवगताः सन्ति ककारोऽयं खकारो वा । न च प्रपौडोच्चारयेत् येन खकारोऽपि ककारवत् प्रतीयते (p. 15).

line 4 from the bottom read 'arāṅṭy' and 'raṅgāḥ'
 ,, 3 from the bottom ,, Māṇḍ.

71 ,, 14 add the following :

MSS. read *samau bhavet*. But this is grammatically wrong. Hence we tentatively read *samo*. Miśra explains this as an *ārṣa* usage (p. 17).

line 6 from the bottom, add the following :

Tripāṭhī explains *pīḍitā* as 'pronounced with more breath which lengthens short vowels' (p. 17).

72 line 19 read recitation,

,, 24 add the following :

Tripāṭhī explains '*likhita-pāṭhakāḥ* as one reading from a book written by oneself' and *alpakaṇṭha* as 'one

who has not practised recitation (p 18) So does Sarma (p 14) and besides this he considers the couplet No 33 to be spurious (*loc cit*)

line 5 from the bottom read the place of

Page 74 line 2 for ś, s and s read ś, s, s and h

„ 12 Insert , (semicolon) after nose and , (comma) after r

74 line 8 from the bottom read the following

rephasamyukto' nadir, etc

line 7 from the bottom read always as an unvoiced sound

lines 6 4 omit 'He seems to have of the Amogha nandinī Śikṣā

75 line 9 read *Panmūr yas tenedam*

76 line 14, add the following

Sarma considers the couplet No 44 to be spurious (p 18)

77 line 5 ff cancel the Note 47c and read the following

This passage with a slight variation occurs in a late work named the Svarastaka Ś by one Ananta (see SS, p 365 Tripathi, p 25)

78 line 6 for the Pñj read some MSS of the Pñj

„ 8 after the fullstop read

The original Pñj probably did not contain this (see p 22, line 6)

79 12, add the following

Misra considers couplets 54 and 55 to be spurious (p 27) and so does Sarma (p 21)

ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA

- Page vi *lines 1 and 3 for London read Lund*
 xxii *line 21 for 700 B.C. read 500 B.C.*
 lii *,, 4 from the bottom, for concludes read suggests,*
 ,, last, read p. clxvii
 liii *,, 13 insert as if before sitting*
 55 *lines 21-23 omit The translator of.....indefensible.*

